FACTORS INFLUENCING THE CONSTRUCTION OF INDIVIDUALS' SUBJECTIVE MEANING WHEN VISITING PILGRIMAGE SHRINES. A STUDY OF PILGRIMS AND TOURISTS AT LOURDES IN SOUTH WEST FRANCE

Simon Thomas

A submission presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of South Wales for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

PhD

September 2013

Declaration

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

Name: Simon Thomas

Signature:……

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the contributions of a small number of people to this thesis.

I want to firstly thank my wife Esther and my daughters Rebecca and Catrin for their patience, support and encouragement.

This thesis would not have been possible without the direction, contribution and support of my director of studies, Professor Anne Marie Doherty, and my supervisor Dr Brychan Thomas.

I am grateful for the support of the Glamorgan Business School for funding this study.

Finally I would like to thank the pilgrimage community at Lourdes who accepted me as an equal and were willing to share their stories with me. My hope is that they find this study interesting.

Abstract

This thesis addresses the research question ‘what factors influence the construction of individuals’ subjective meaning when visiting pilgrimage shrines?’ The context of the study centres on the pilgrimage shrine at Lourdes in south west France.

The review of the literature is set out in three sections. *Part One* critiques the traditional definitions, approaches, theories and concepts in the study of pilgrimage and religious tourism. The seminal literature in the study of pilgrimage and religious tourism places emphasis upon the objectivity (external and generalised) of the pilgrimage experience. *Part Two* considers the intermediate, or bridging, literature in the study of pilgrimage and religious tourism. The intermediate literature is dominated by the work of Smith (1992), Stoddard (1996), Santos (2003) and the opposing Turnerian theoretical position of Marnham (1980), Sallnow (1981), Eade and Sallnow (1991), Eade (1991), Eade (1992) (competing discourses) and Reader and Walter (1993) (pilgrimage and popular culture). *Part Three* presents the contemporary theoretical perspective of pilgrimage and religious tourism which advocates a shift from objective to subjective theory. The main proponents of this view are Dora (2012), Andriotis (2011) and Collins-Kreiner (2010).

The epistemological position of this study is grounded in the philosophy of interpretivism. The methodological position of this study is qualitative adopting an inductive view. The data collection consisted of convenience sample pilot interviews followed by conversational interviews as part of a larger micro-ethnographic study. The analysis of the data was conducted using the thematic analysis technique.

The findings in this study are organised around four emergent themes;

1. The authority of the church and pilgrimage conflict
2. The contestation of dual space
3. The pull factors - experiencing Marian mysticism, cures and miracles - the meaning of pilgrimage
4. The testimonies of pilgrims – a confession of truth

This study presents an alternative theoretical paradigm that has emerged from the traditional (objective), intermediate (bridging) and contemporary (subjective) literature. The response to the research question claims that ‘the construction process at Lourdes is multi-dimensional, multi-layered and influenced by self-constructed narratives which underpin multiple factors associated with belief, duty, observance, ritual, control, conflict, authority and most importantly, return’. This claim presents a new theoretical framework which embraces the multi-dimensional and multi-layered influences upon the construction process; both literal and metaphorical. The literature in the study of pilgrim-touristic construction supports a shift from the objective to the subjective - this study proposes a hybridisation of existing theory that supports three dominant paradigms/frameworks;

1. Meaning is not one-dimensional
2. Objectivity and subjectivity are not polarised concepts
3. The paradigmatic shift from objectivity to subjectivity is not a ‘whole concept’

A new definition of pilgrimage devised from this study is;

‘The process of pilgrimage (pre-visit, visit, post-visit) is a multi-dimensional activity constructed with symbiotic actions (objective and subjective) and present in the form of complex narratives that are experienced, interpreted and applied to form/construct an individual subjective meaning that has internal and external influence’.

Glossary of Religious & Related Terms

Allegory – The simplest form of allegory consists of a story/picture or situation written/painted or presented in such a way as to have two coherent meanings

Apparition – an appearing; an appearance; re-appearance e.g. of a heavenly body after occultation; that which appears

Basilica – Roman Catholic Church with honorific privileges

Brancardier – Male Lay Helpers; specifically at the Grotto and Baths at Lourdes

Communitas – a relational quality of full unmediated communication, even communion with other individuals, which combines the qualities of lowliness, sacredness, homogeneity, and comradeship; Turner (1978) *"social antistructure – a relational quality of full unmediated communication, even communion, between definite and determinate identities, which arises spontaneously in all kinds of groups, situations, and circumstances. It is a liminal phenomenon which combines the qualities of lowliness, sacredness, homogeneity, and comradeship. The distinction between structure and communitas is not the same as that between secular and sacred; communitas is an essential and generic human bond"*

Ecclesiastical – relating to the church

Eucharist – the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; the elements of the sacrament, bread and wine

Hierophanic - a direct manifestation of a deity on earth

Liminal – meaning threshholdness, or the sense of crossing a threshold or portal from one mode of existence to another in which you live by different rules; derived from the Latin 'limen' meaning threshold the term liminal aptly describes the condition of ritual participants who have symbolically exited one social space or state but have not entered a new one; they are figuratively poised over the threshold, or betwixt and between, two social worlds

Liturgy – the form of service or regular ritual of a church

Marian – relating to the Virgin Mary – a devotee, follower, or defender of Mary

Marker – external influence; tourism operator/ecclesiastical authority

Penance – the act of humiliation or punishment either self-imposed or imposed by a priest, to express or show evidence of sorrow for sin; the sacrament by which absolution is conveyed; expiation; hardship – also penitent – suffering or pain or sorrow for past sin and feeling a desire to reform; contrite; repentant; undergoing penance. - a person who repents of his or her sin; someone who has confessed sin, and is undergoing penance; a member of one of various orders devoted to penitential exercises

Profane – not sacred; secular; showing contempt of sacred things; uninitiated; unhallowed; vulgar or irreverent; to treat with contempt or insult in spite of the holiness attributed; to desecrate; to violate; to put to an unworthy use

Sacrament – a Christian religious rite variously regarded as a channel to and from God or as a sign of grace – amongst Protestants generally Baptism and the Lord's Supper – amongst Roman Catholics also Confirmation, Penance, Holy Orders, Matrimony and Extreme

Unction; the Lord's Supper especially; the bread or wine taken in celebration of the Lord's Supper; a symbol of something spiritual or secret; a sign, token or pledge

Secular – pertaining to the present world, or to things not spiritual; civil, not ecclesiastical; lay, not concerned with religion; not bound by monastic rules

Semiotics – The study of signs. A method for the analysis of messages, both verbal and non-verbal. Explores the wider societal meanings of, and functions of, sign systems

Shrine – a casket for relics or an erection over it; a place hallowed by its associations

Symbol – an emblem; that which by custom or convention represents something else; a type; a creed; or a typical religious rite

Symbolism – representation by symbols or signs; a system of symbols; use of symbols; use of symbols in literature or art; a late 19th-cent movement in art and poetry that treated the actual as an expression of something underlying

Theophanic - an event where a deity will give a message to a second party who will then interpret to others

Theophany – a manifestation or appearance of deity to man

Source: Turner and Turner (1978); Holy Bible (1996); Catholic Encyclopaedia Online (2011)

Contents

List of Figures	Page No.

List of Plates	Page No.
Plate 1.1 The shell marked route to Santiago de Compostela at Bénévent-l' Abbaye, Limousin, France	10
Plate 5.1 Pilgrims queuing along the banks of the river Gave to take the waters at Lourdes	128
Plate 5.2 The Evening Torchlight Marian Procession at Lourdes	128
Plate 5.3 Twinkling Virgins...Snow Shaker Virgins...Virgin T Shirts...Virgin Key Rings... A Typical Image of Lourdes	130
Plate 5.4 Massabielle Grotto in 1858 & 2010	144
Plate 5.5 The Basilica at Lourdes in evening sunlight; A contemporary view of Lourdes	144

List of Boxes	Page No.
Box 1.1 Contemporary Pilgrimage	5
Box 2.1 The use of religious terminology in contemporary secular pilgrimage	42
Box 4.1 Lourdes Diary of Activities – The Diocese of Lancaster Friday 23rd July – Friday 30th July 2010	96
Box 5.1 Lourdes Diary of Activities – The Diocese of Lancaster Friday 23rd July – Friday 30th July 2010	142

Chapter 1 – Introduction

> Perhaps paradoxically, the decline in churchgoing in recent years has been paralleled in many cases by a growing interest in religion and religious travel. The reason for this seems simple: people are searching for meaning in their increasingly uncertain lives. Many people have not been able to find this through traditional forms of worship, so they are now taking to different forms of experience to find it. This includes the rediscovery of pilgrimage or journeys to sacred places.
>
> (ATLAS 2005)

> Of course pilgrimage has always offered a highly individualised scope for self-expression and religious search, as well as for escape from the restrictions of everyday social bonds and contexts, but in earlier eras it was commonly located within the frameworks of religious traditions. The growing numbers of modern pilgrims who are visiting sacred centres of religious traditions can similarly be seen as indications of this move away from religious affiliation and commitment and towards personalised spiritual search.
>
> (Reader 2007)

1.0 Introduction - Rationale and Justification for the Study

The background to this thesis, and indeed the thesis question, is the consequence of research for an earlier heritage and tourism focused study which was conducted by the author (Thomas et al 2007). The study revealed that traditional, formal, ritualised and structured liturgical church attendance was in significant decline across many European Union, and indeed global, countries while in contrast the act of 'going on pilgrimage', across all of the major religions (Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism and Islam) (Table 1.1) was in, and continues to be in, a period of significant growth (Dora 2012; Andriotis 2011; Collins-Kreiner 2010; Tearfund 2006). The fact that attendance at formal, home-based church services continues to decline prompted the author to ask the question, 'what is it that stimulates an interest in an alternative form of religious activity, namely pilgrimage – both religious, secular and touristic'. This question has formed the basis of this study and the subsequent development of the research question which focuses on the factors which influence the construction of individual's subjective meaning when visiting pilgrimage shrines.

The chapter will commence by outlining the background and context to this research, which will include an overview of the decline of formal religious activity and the growth of religiously, and secular, motivated pilgrim-touristic activity. The first section will place the research in context by introducing the theoretical model presented by Smith (1992), which aims to separate the pilgrim from the secular tourist. The Smith (1992) model is an early attempt to disaggregate pilgrims and secular tourists based upon activities. The Smith (1992) model focuses upon a traditional theoretical view (see Turner and Turner 1978; Marnham 1980) that pilgrims and secular tourists are two separate polarised groups that can be characterised/distinguished/separated/brought together/ by clear markers. The Smith (1992) model, while central to the aims of this study, has a place as both stimulus and starting point for the broader and more specific themes that will be explored throughout this thesis such as motive and meaning. The important work of Stoddard (1996), which builds upon the Smith

(1992) model, will also be introduced at this point of the chapter. The theoretical influence is a key driver in the construction, direction and interpretation of this thesis: the literature review chapter (Chp. 2) will examine the theoretical development that is a key characteriser of pilgrim/touristic/secular definitions and transformations, latterly grounded in the work of Collins-Kreiner (2010), Andriotis (2011) and Dora (2012). The first section will also consider the evidence, from a range of sources, which chronologically charts and statistically quantifies the growth in popularity and motivation at general pilgrimage sites and more specifically, the focus of this study, the Marian apparition site of Lourdes in South West France.

The second section in this chapter outlines the approaches and structure of this study. The second section presents a brief overview of the philosophical, theoretical and practical approaches that were adopted to undertake this study as well as an outline of the structure of this thesis by presenting an overview of each of the subsequent chapters and their contribution to the study. This thesis presents an opportunity to contribute to existing theoretical understanding and the application of the practice of visiting Lourdes. The primary research for this study was undertaken exclusively with the pilgrim/tourist population at Lourdes and therefore reflects the act of visiting a major European Catholic pilgrimage shrine.

Table 1.1 A Selection of Pilgrimage Sites for the Five Major Religions

Religion	**Site**
Buddhism	Shwe Dagon, Myanmar; O-Mei Shan, China; Bodh Gaya, India; Kamakura, Japan; Lumbini, Nepal; Temple of the Emerald Buddha, Thailand
Christianity	Medugorje, Bosnia and Herzegovina; St Anne de Beaupre, Canada; Mount Sinai, Egypt; Lourdes, France; Bethlehem, Israel/Palestine; Jerusalem, Israel/Palestine; Fatima, Portugal; Santiago de Compostela, Spain
Hinduism	Ayodhya, Badrinatha, Benaras, Davaraka, Haridwar, Kusi, Mathura, Puri, Ramaswaram, Ujjain, Varanasi, Ganges River – all in India
Islam	Meshad, Iran; Karabala, Iraq; Jerusalem, Palestine; Mecca and Medina, Saudi Arabia
Judaism	Jerusalem, Meron, Modi'in, Hebron, Mount Carmel, Safed, Tiberas – all in Israel/Palestine; Uman, Ukraine

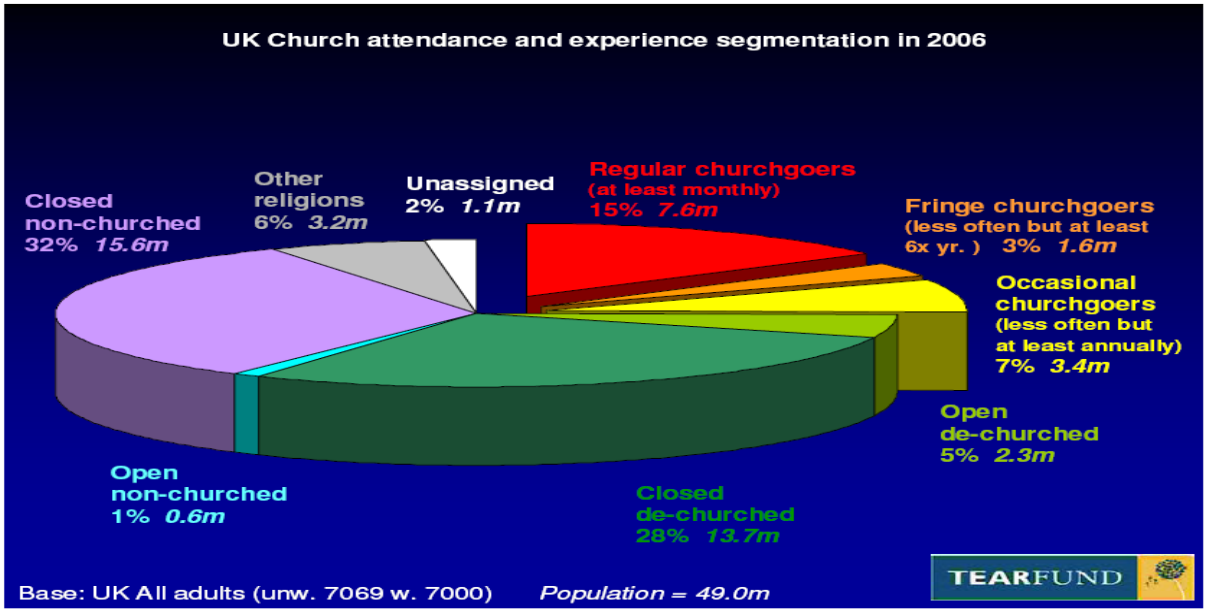
Source: Russell (1999)

1.1 The Background and Context of the Research

1.1.1 Religious tourism, pilgrimage and the new secular movement

The introduction to this chapter suggests that there has been a significant change process in pilgrimage and religious tourism, practice and theoretical literature development during the last forty years. The fact that pilgrimage has witnessed significant development during this period may in fact be as a consequence of the change in contemporary touristic landscapes (Tribe 2009) and perhaps more importantly the significant changes that have occurred in the engagement with more formalised/ritualistic types of religious activity (Odell 2010; Palmer and Gallagher 2007; Reader 2007). Attendance at most of the five major faiths (Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism and Islam) represented in the UK have experienced a decline during the last forty years. In fact Buddhism is the only major UK faith that has experienced growth during the last forty years, although the growth is relatively minimal (Tearfund 2006). In Ireland, for example, statistics reveal a sharp downturn in those individuals attending the Catholic Church: a decline of 31% between 1990 and 2003 (Palmer and Gallagher 2007). Reader (2007) concurs with this assessment and points to a 'spiritual revolution' in his study of English towns which revealed *"the decline of the established church accompanied not so much by increasing secularisation as by a turn away from traditions towards a more autonomous, individualised and personalised spirituality"* (: 226). Tearfund, the UK's leading Christian relief and development agency, research in 2006 points to a fragmented picture of formal church/religious attendance in the UK. Table 1.2 illustrates the church/religious attendance and experience patterns of the UK population in 2006 based on a sample of 7000 participants. A fuller explanation of each of the Tearfund categories can be accessed in Appendices 1, but what is immediately evident from Table 1.2 is the relatively small percentage of UK adults that participate regularly in formal, ritualistic, structured religious activities.

Table 1.2 UK Church attendances in 2006

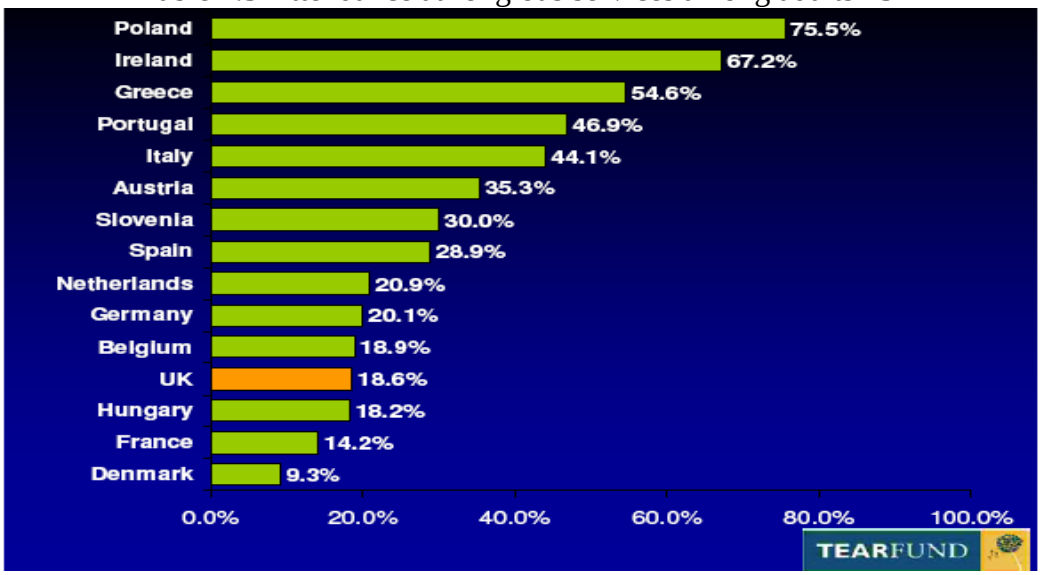


Source: Tearfund (2006)

The Tearfund (2006) research highlights a large proportion (66%) that has no connection with church or other religions and neither shows any immediate interest in church attendance or activities. This figure is fairly evenly split between those who have past experience of church and those who have limited, mainly funerals and weddings, experience of church. This statistic is reflective of, and builds upon, the European Social Survey of 2002 which places the UK close to the bottom of European Union countries formal church attendance, with less than 20% attending regularly (less than once a month – less than 0.85% attendance per person per year) (Table 1.3).

Table 1.3 presents a complex picture of formal church attendance across fifteen European Union countries. What is interesting to note is that the top five, attending, countries in the European Social Survey (2002) are a) countries which are nationally Catholic or have strong Catholic affiliations – notably Greece, and b) outside of France, the top ranking countries in terms of visitors to the pilgrimage shrine at Lourdes, the focus of this thesis, in statistics reported over the last three decades (Lourdes.org (a) 2012; Matter 2001; Nolan and Nolan 1989). The evidence presented thus far offers a partial view that individuals are no longer interested in formal church but may have a sense of autonomous, personalised spirituality that connects to different religious activities in different ways. As noted, for the United Kingdom, and much of Europe, a steady decline in attendance at religious services during the latter half of the twentieth and the first decade of the twenty first century (Tearfund 2006) is a trend that continues to dominate all major religious denominations.

Table 1.3 Attendance at religious services among adults 15+



Source: Tearfund (2006) adapted from the European Social Survey (2002)

For the established religious institutions the evidence presented in the opening paragraphs of this chapter may make difficult reading. There is evidence however that the perception of complete disengagement with religion may be inaccurate with research suggesting that more personalised forms of religious/spiritual activity may be superseding traditional forms of religion (Andriotis 2011; Reader 2007; ATLAS 2005). The Reverend Lynda Barley, Head of Research & Statistics at the Church of England offers an alternative assessment of

individualistic engagement with religion in contemporary UK culture ...*"research is beginning to show that there is more, far more going on out of apparent sight in everyday life in Britain today. At times of national and individual crisis, for example, we see faith bubbling out from under the surface. Our churches and cathedrals become places of pilgrimage. People create impromptu shrines to remember the passing of those of special meaning to them. Perhaps our religious past is beginning to catch up with us again as Britain re-evaluates the relevance of its inherited Christianity to the increasingly pluralistic future"* (Barley 2006: 8). Barley's (2006) assessment may resonate with contemporary societal views of traditional formal religion. There is increasing evidence (Collins-Kreiner 2010) that individuals, groups and even national populations are connecting and responding to religion in a relatively ad hoc and unfamiliar way (Box 1.1). MacConville (2006) & Hartig and Dunn (1998) for example refer to the increasingly noticeable memorials to people killed in motor accidents at roadsides. Of course one could draw parallels with the traditional format of 'religious pilgrimage' at this point; Grider (2001) refers to increasing numbers of individuals responding to makeshift or spontaneous shrines constructed to commemorate lost family or friends. Interestingly Grider (2001) adopts the language of religion claiming that *"the sites* (makeshift roadside shrines) *function as sites of ritual pilgrimage and are, therefore, sacred shrines rather than secular memorials"* (:3).

Box 1.1 Contemporary Pilgrimage

On Sunday 31st August 1997 Princess Diana of Wales died as a result of extensive injuries sustained in a car crash while being pursued by Paparazzi photographers. The accident happened in the Pont de l'Alma road tunnel in Paris. Ever since the events of more than a decade ago the scene of the Paris crash has received tens of thousands of visitors converging on the anniversary of the death of the Princess. These visitors are in Paris for a number of reasons but most agree that it is the fascination with both the life and death of Diana that has stimulated them to make the journey. The British media have fuelled the fascination with Diana but it is clear that the extraordinary series of events that led to the untimely death resonate with a large number of the British public. As the myth surrounding Diana has grown the terminology that one would usually associate with religious events and happenings has been used in connection with the Princesses life and death. The journey to Paris, for example, is now defined as a 'pilgrimage' with various contemporary tabloid publications commenting on the Pont de l'Alma tunnel as a shrine, a sacred piece of ground.

Reader and Walter (1993) highlight the use of religious terminology when considering the Hillsborough football disaster of 15th April 1989. They point out that the UK media at the time of the tragedy portrayed images of Liverpool football ground at Anfield as sacred turf where one could make a pilgrimage to honour the dead; a metaphorical 'road to Mecca'. This description of Anfield has obvious religious connotations. As the Channel 4 Hillsborough documentary The Sacred Turf (aired on 10th December 1990) remarked: 'Anfield itself became a shrine, thousands turning up with personal gifts, precious mementoes they'd owned for years, but felt they had to give up. The ground became an alter, the souvenirs the sacrifices…one and a half million people made the pilgrimage to Anfield, half a million

personal tributes were left at the ground' (Adapted from Reader and Walter 1993).

Source: Reader and Walter (1993)

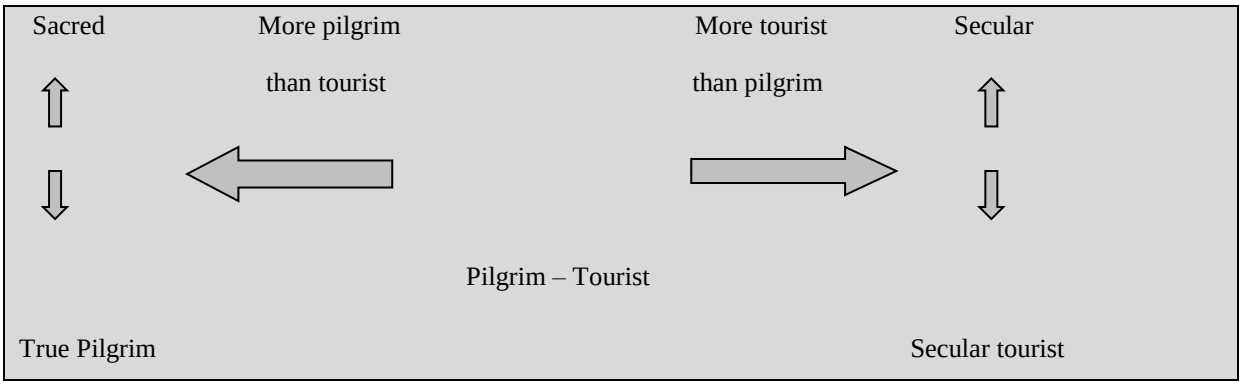
Shrines, in a contemporary sense, may be a crude attempt to make a catastrophe more manageable; the creation of shrines, according to Grider (2001), the placing of candles and flowers can give people a sense of purpose. The link from contemporary makeshift shrine to pilgrimage is not seamless however. While historically, sacred shrines of pilgrimage have been sites that have a religious base; it has become clear that contemporary post-modern society has re-defined the definition of pilgrimage to include sites, events or simply people that can be deemed sacred (Box 1.1). Although, in Western Europe, the majority of pilgrimage sites are predominantly of a religious composition, it is evident (Reader and Walter 1993) that pilgrimage is not limited solely to religious cultures or traditions. Morinis (1992) makes the argument for the validity of secular pilgrimage by suggesting that *"secular journeys can fall within the boundaries of pilgrimage if made in pursuit of embodied ideals"* (in Badone and Roseman 2004: 161). The broader definition of pilgrimage as a heterogeneous, constructed and negotiated experience does move away from the hierophanic/theophanic associations that one may apply to the more restricted, and traditional, 'deity' form of religious pilgrimage however. Morinis (1992) continues his support of secular/contemporary pilgrimage by proposing that a pilgrimage can be *"any journey undertaken by a person in quest of a place or a state that he or she believes to embody a valued ideal"* (in Badone and Roseman 2004: 161). The implication that any journey, secular or religious, when undertaken for a sacred ideal, can be defined as pilgrimage offers a broader perspective in definitional terms: it is the *"pursuit of the ideal, whether deified or not, that defines the sacred journey"* (Badone and Roseman 2004: 161).

If one is to promote a view that secular/contemporary spirituality is replacing the more traditional formal religious activities then one may also posit that the pilgrimages that one would associate with traditional ecclesiastical institutions ...must... also reflect the cultural change highlighted thus far in this chapter. Pilgrimage, according to Eliot Gardner (2004), is in contemporary terms characterised by only the briefest of glances before the tourist guide summons us onto the next step in the itinerary. According to Eliot Gardner (2004) pilgrimage has become part of a whistle stop post-modernistic heritage itinerary. This view reflects the theoretical generalisations made by Urry & Larsen (2011) Poria, Airey and Butler (2003) and MacCannell (2001 & 1976); the latter as early as 1976 stating that *"...traditional religious institutions are everywhere accommodating the movements of tourists. In the 'Holy-Land', the tour has followed in the path of the religious pilgrimage and is replacing it. Throughout the world, churches, cathedrals, mosques, and temples are being converted from religious to touristic functions"* (1976: 43).

The views expressed by Urry & Larsen (2011) Eliot Gardner (2004) and MacCannell (2001) can be traced to the seminal work of Smith (1992). Smith's (1992) conceptual model (Fig 1.1) developed the work of Adler (1989) and others who identify secularism/tourism and pilgrimage as *"opposite end-points on a continuum of travel"* (Smith 1992: 3). The model presented by Smith (1992) is an early attempt to offer a conceptualisation of interpreting

motivation among those individuals visiting a pilgrimage shrine. An interesting inclusion in the narrative that Smith (1992), used to accompany the conceptual model, is the proposition that *"the diagram is only a momentary interpretation of present-day thought, and the designations are by no means immutable"* (:4). Smith (1992) reflects on her conceptual model and states that there are, between the extremities, almost infinite possibilities for sacred-secular combinations. The work of Smith (1992) places the pilgrimage shrine as the central unifying point around which the act of pilgrimage can be measured, explained and understood. Smith (1992) claimed that the interests and the activities of the traveller *"may switch from secular/tourist to pilgrim and vice versa, even without the individual being aware of the change"* (:4). In reality however the Smith (1992) model disaggregates pilgrims and secular tourists by clearly defined markers, or points on a continuum, alienating the perspective/view that advocates movement between points and more importantly the subjective and deeply personal constructions that may motivate such movement – religious or otherwise.

Fig 1.1 The Pilgrim Tourist Continuum

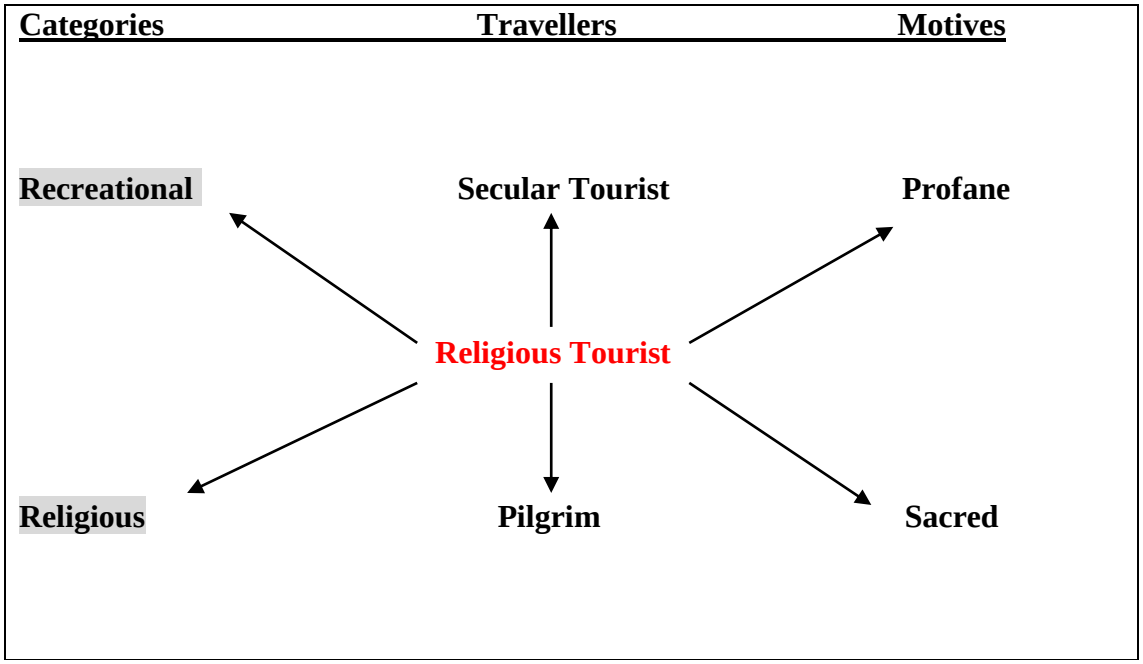


Source: Smith (1992)

The traditions in the theoretical study of pilgrimage/touristic disciplines offer a central ground where one may hold a classification for the generic visitor based upon bringing together aspects of the two types of experience (leisure/touristic/secular and religious). Stoddard (1996) (Fig 1.2) develops Smith's (1992) conceptual model and proposes a framework which brings together *"different types of traveller, secular tourist, religious tourist and pilgrim, and their motives, profane or sacred, relating them to two categories of movement in space – recreational or religious - which he considers contiguous"* (Santos 2003: 32) (the arrows have been added to highlight the significance of the central ground). Stoddard's (1996) framework re-establishes the mixed central group which in post-Smith literature is dominated by the imprecise term 'religious tourists' (see Vukonic 1996; Timothy and Olsen 2006; Raj and Morpeth 2007). The difficulty in separating the secular/tourist from the pilgrim however may be traced back to the origins of tourism. Travel to sacred places is generally regarded as an integral motivation for undertaking visitations (Turner and Turner 1978; Nolan and Nolan 1989), and is considered to be the oldest form of non-economic based secularist travel and tourism activity. The disaggregation of secular/tourist and pilgrim may be convenient for the early proponents of separation (Smith 1992; Stoddard 1996), but when

one considers that at the turn of the Millennium it was estimated that over 240 million people, from a variety of religious faiths, were undertaking a pilgrimage for both religious and secular/leisure purposes, the transformation that one may associate with how individuals engage with religion may in fact be a reflection of a series of complex subjective constructions that supersede the early (Smith 1992; Stoddard 1996) theoretical assumptions put forward in the opening pages of this chapter.

Fig 1.2 Motives, Type of Traveller and Categories of Displacement – A Central Ground Model



Source: Stoddard (1996)

1.1.2 Pilgrimage growth & motivations – From the general to the specific – The Shrine at Lourdes

The work of Nolan and Nolan (1989) was the first major study of patterns of pilgrimage at Roman Catholic religious shrines in Western Europe. The Nolan and Nolan (1989) study examines over 6,150 shrines, from both a statistical visitor number, formational and devotional perspective. The work of the Nolans (1989) was a significant point in the development of theoretical pilgrimage study as it put forward a clear evidenced based claim that pilgrimage had become a major religious and touristic activity in Western Europe during the 1970s & 1980s. Table 1.4 highlights the number of pilgrims visiting the 6150 Christian shrines in Western Europe in the latter half of the 1980s (Nolan and Nolan 1989). The table does not include local people that may visit the shrine as part of a regular religiously motivated routine, but does include two sites that attract more than four million visitors each year: Lourdes in South West France and the four major basilicas in Rome (Saint Peter's, Saint John Lateran, Saint Paul's outside the walls, and Santa Maria Maggiore)

Table 1.4 Estimated Number of Shrine Visitations in Western Europe

Estimated Number of Annual Visits by Pilgrims and Religiously Motivated Travellers	Number of Shrines or Shrine Complexes	Estimated Average Number of Visits per Shrine or Complex	Estimated Number of Visits
4,000,000 or more	2	4,000,000	8,000,000
1,000,000 to 4,000,000	17	1,000,000	17,000,000
400,000 to 1,000,000	26	500,000	13,000,000
100,000 to 400,000	90	150,000	13,500,000
10,000 to 100,000	285	30,000	8,550,000
1,000 to 10,000	1,586	3,000	4,758,000
Less than 1000	225	500	112,500
No estimates	3,919	500	1,959,000
Total	6,150		66,880,500

Source: Nolan and Nolan (1989)

Nolan and Nolan (1989) point out that the figures in Table 1.4 are not particularly indicative of levels of 'religious' importance. Pilgrimage shrines are often located in areas that have developed significant touristic value, such as Lourdes, Santiago de Compostela or Rome. At a selection of the shrines in table 1.4 the visitation figures can be categorised or broken down dependant upon how one would/could separate the pilgrim and the tourist (Nolan and Nolan 1989) spanning a continuum between the religiously motivated traveller to the secular experience seeking tourist. Total visitation according to the Nolans (1989) may in fact be much higher than table 1.4 suggests, as many of the larger shrines are visited by large numbers of 'invisible' secular tourists, including day visitors and those visiting with friends or family, who in fact are not measured in their study. It is difficult to quantify the motivations for visiting a pilgrimage shrine but an important note at this point would be to consider the often conflicting statistics for shrine visitations that fail to separate the continuum of motivations that may be drawing on a much wider visitor base. Nolan and Nolan (1989) draw on the example of sites such as Westminster Abbey in London and Conques in the south of France as destinations that will feature highly on the pilgrim's and the secular tourist's itineraries. Such sites are multi-lateral in the context of visitor profiles: they draw on what may be considered a broad continuum of basic motivations (see Smith 1992). Further evidence of pilgrim-touristic convergence can be seen in the hybrid routes throughout France and Spain that promote route based pilgrimage that has spiritual, cultural

and touristic value such as the Camino de Santiago – the pilgrim route that runs from Le Puy in France to Santiago de Compostela in Spain (Plate 1.1). Table 1.5, for example, presents an interesting report from the Confraternity of St James which reports on pilgrim motives among a sample of 610 individuals undertaking the pilgrimage route to Santiago in the mid 1990s. The reasons for undertaking a pilgrimage to Santiago (Table 1.5) indicate a broad appeal among the many millions of individuals that make the arduous journey through France and over 700km across northern Spain; interestingly religious motivations are the smallest grouping. The transformation of the El Camino route to Santiago, from traditional sacred to contemporary secular use, represents the changing nature of pilgrim routes with the *"explicit promotion of routes for tourism, leisure and cultural engagement"* (Raj and Morpeth 2007: 156) a key priority of tourist authorities across much of western Europe during the last twenty years (Murray and Graham 1997; Keil 2003).

Plate 1.1 The shell marked route to Santiago de Compostela at Bénévent-l' Abbaye, Limousin, France

Table 1.5 Membership of the Confraternity of Saint James: Motivations for interest in the pilgrimage to Santiago

Motivations

Category	Number	Percentage
Cultural	447	73.28
Sport and physical	108	17.70
Religious/spiritual/faith	55	9.02
Total motivations noted (1995)	610	100.00

Source: Murray and Graham (1997)

1.1.3 Lourdes

Lourdes is probably the most important of the Marian shrines (sites that have developed in response to miraculous apparitions of the Virgin Mary) for the European, and indeed the international Catholic pilgrim community. Lourdes, as a pilgrimage centre, developed in response to eighteen apparitions of the Virgin Mary to a local peasant girl named Bernadette Soubirous between February 11th and July 16th 1858. The apparitions of the Virgin Mary at Lourdes are significant for a number of interrelated reasons. Firstly, the timing of the multiple apparitions is significant in French political and social history. The period around the mid 1850s in France witnessed a shift in societal thinking and in particular an anti-Catholic movement appeared against the backdrop of modernist thinking and political change (Reader 2007; Taylor 2003). Secondly, the apparitions at Lourdes are one of the few Marian visitations to be authenticated by the Catholic Church in Europe. The authentication of Lourdes is further enhanced by the words of the Virgin Mary to Bernadette in 1858 that pronounced 'I am the Immaculate Conception' (Gesler 1996). The words of Mary are an echo of the 1854 proclamation by Pope Pius IX concerning the dogma or doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary i.e. she who was born, and lived, without sin. It could then be posited that 'politically, socially and ecclesiastically' the apparitions at Lourdes were timed perfectly for both state and Church. This is a view that would be contested by Catholic authorities and pilgrims alike who would make a claim that Mary appeared at that time in particular and that specific place (Lourdes) in her wisdom (Fladmark 1998; Reader 2007). The work of Harris (1999) however, concurs with Reader's (2007) and Taylor's (2003) assessment of the growth and development of Lourdes by detailing how the process was stimulated by local, regional, national and ecclesiastical motivations. Significantly other sites in the region of Lourdes that failed to gain ecclesiastical authentication, but had been the sites of supposed earlier (1800-1850) Marian apparitions, did not develop into significant pilgrimage sites (Reader 2007).

There are indeed few features of historical or artistic interest at Lourdes that might draw on a wider base of visitor motivation (Keil 2003). The pilgrimage site of Lourdes has seen a significant growth pattern in the last twenty years as the Catholic Church actively promotes the site as a pilgrim centre, rather than a Catholic shrine, as a means of *"restating the Catholic Church's authority in a secularising age"* (Reader 2007: 219). Lourdes is the most visited of the European Marian shrines and yet is a site of division, contradiction and complexity. Gesler (1996) points to the mounting tensions at Lourdes as pilgrims and secular tourists come together with multi-layered and multi-faceted motivations for visiting the shrine of Mary's apparitions. As Eade and Sallnow (2000) point out, while one may consider Lourdes to be a highly structured community there is in fact evidence of contradiction between tourists, pilgrims and helpers, *"between facilitating and denying, between power and resistance, and between collective order and freedom for individual expression"* (:52). The suggestion put forward by Eade and Sallnow (2000) is in direct opposition to the earlier work of Turner and Turner (1978) who state that *"in Lourdes there is a sense of living communitas, whether in the great singing processions by torchlight or in the agreeable little cafés of the backstreets, where tourists and pilgrims gaily sip their wine and coffee. Something of Bernadette has tinctured the entire social milieu-a cheerful simplicity, a great depth of communion"* (:230). The work of Turner and Turner (1978) presents an earlier, idealist, study of life on pilgrimage which characterised Lourdes as a community of like minded pilgrims all striving for similar goals. The shrine at Lourdes in fact demonstrates the (co)existence of a variety of disparate oppositions and expectations. To paraphrase Sallnow (1987) *"the most helpful, pre-analytic image to hold in mind is of a tangle of contradictions, a cluster of coincident opposites"* (in Eade and Sallnow 2000: 52), an anti-Turnerian co-existence of anti-communitas fuelled by competing discourses, interpretations and expectations.

It would be difficult to undertake a study of pilgrimage in Western Europe without the inclusion of Lourdes, not least because of the large number of pilgrims and global significance of the site but equally because of the conflicting discourses of visitors along the pilgrim/secular/tourist continuum. One hundred and fifty years after the apparitions, Lourdes remains one of the most important global pilgrimage centres currently attracting in excess of six million visitors each year. The year 2008 witnessed a Jubilee year at Lourdes, Année du jubilé des apparitions, to celebrate a century and a half of pilgrimages, healings and miraculous accounts of Catholic history. It is interesting to note that the Catholic Authorities at Lourdes, in the run up to the 2008 Jubilee celebrations, re-classified the expectations and manifestation of miracles and cures at Lourdes in a statement that declared a new approach. The official Lourdes bureau claim that with the advances in medicine, since the apparitions, there needs to be a schematic stage of recognition to help identify the degree of cure rather than the traditional approach where all proclaimed miracles and cures were unconditionally accepted. The three stages are explained in detail in Table 1.6 but it is worth noting here that the view has shifted towards grading cures and miracles based upon a broad continuum that assesses at one extreme received medical attention and at the other unexplained miraculous cure. As the Lourdes bureau point out, *"Lourdes should not be reduced to the alternatives – miracle or no miracle...a pilgrimage to Mary is more than a journey to a miracle, it is a journey of love, of prayer and of the suffering community. In Lourdes, in effect, the sick, who*

get out of their bed of sickness and isolation in their bedroom or hospital room, are welcomed, respected, surrounded and in a lively world where they have pride of place" (Lourdes.org (b) 2012).

Table 1.6 Cures at Lourdes – A New Classification

Stage 1: From the "Declared" Cure to the "Unexpected" Cure
All possible information is gathered from the person who believes they have received the grace of a cure by the medical officer of the Medical Bureau who then proceeds with a primary evaluation to:
to build up a file on the illness with a report on the current state of health
to judge the person's personality in order to rule out trickery, acting, illusion, a possible hysterical or delirious pathology.
to judge if this cure is clearly beyond the normal medical provisions of the illness in question note the circumstances of the cure itself and to verify if it happened according to extraordinary, unforeseen, striking or remarkable conditions.
Some of these declarations will be marked "**no follow-up**" or "**pending**" or registered as "**unexpected cure**" to be studied.
The bishop of the diocese where the person claiming to be cured lives will be informed that this cure is the subject of an enquiry and a doctor nominated by him can also be informed.
Stage 2: from the "Unexpected" Cure to the "Confirmed" Cure.
The files of the "**unexpected cures**" are studies to complete the authentication inquiry which consists of a comparative study of the medical documents before and after the cure. This is to ensure that there was an indisputable change from a precise medical diagnosis of a known illness to a situation of restored health. They will also look to see if this cure shows signs of being completely out of character with the development of this illness. The opinion of a large number of professional specialists will be sought by a member of the CMIL before the file is presented to a gathering of the CMIL. In the end, the CMIL will classify the cure as no follow-up or they will validate this cure which they feel has been "thoroughly discussed and confirmed"
Stage 3: Opinion for Recognising an Unexpected Cure.
This is the final stage where the CMIL will affirm the "**exceptional character**" of a cure according to present scientific knowledge. The file is then sent by the Bishop of Tarbes and Lourdes to the bishop of the diocese where the person who was cured lives. The support of the Lambertini criteria will assure that the cure has been found complete and lasting, from a serious illness which is incurable or of an unfavourable prognosis and that it happened in a sudden way.

Source: Lourdes.org (c) (2012)

1.2 Research Aims and Objectives

The central theme in this study is uncovering the factors that influence how the contemporary traveller constructs meaning when visiting pilgrimage shrines. Contemporary pilgrimage is certainly not the activity that one would associate with the early forms of reconquista inspired travel of the latter dark ages and early medieval periods (Gemie 2006; Keil 2003; Webb 2001). The assumption that to be a pilgrim one must endure toil, strife, physical and emotional suffering may be more akin to the early medieval view of life on pilgrimage (Webb 2001; Nooteboom 1998; Williamson 1958). Certainly the medieval motivation for

pilgrimage surpasses the somewhat restricted view that we maintain in this century. Nooteboom (1998) makes the point that today we have to use petty jargon such as social, political, religious or spiritual motives for pilgrimage whereas in the words of the historian Labande a true pilgrim is one who *"at some point in his life makes the decision to travel to a particular place and who surrenders his entire existence to achieving that goal"* (in Nooteboom 1998: 51); hardly a comparison we can draw with today's postmodern experience seeking pilgrim/tourist/secularist (Torkildsen 2005; Bryman 2004).

The common factors in all pilgrimages, however, are that like religion, it is an ambiguous, deeply personal and often irrational veneration of a supernatural force that is both transcendental and powerful (Raj and Morpeth 2007). This rather obscure and abstract definition, while perhaps not fully reflective of the more contemporised forms of spiritual and secular (not necessarily of a religious disposition) activity does act as a baseline for the focus of this study in uncovering the theoretical view of an ambiguous, subjective and deeply personal construction of meaning put forward by Dora (2012); Andriotis (2011); Collins-Kreiner (2010); Raj and Morpeth (2007) and other proponents of contemporary post-modernistic pilgrimage practice.

Therefore the central research question is;

- What factors influence the construction of individuals' subjective meaning when visiting pilgrimage shrines?

In order to achieve the central research question there are four objectives which provide a framework and focus for exploring the construction of meaning among pilgrims and tourists.

The objectives of the study are;

- To examine the relationship between pilgrim, tourist and marker at Lourdes;
- To determine the markers role in framing individual space at Lourdes;
- To evaluate the interrelating factors that contribute to the personal construction of meaning at Lourdes.
- To consider how one may apply the outcomes of this study to the practice of visiting Lourdes.

1.3 Research Design and Methodology

The formative study of pilgrimage and tourism (1960s-1990s) was dominated by objective, positivistic and quantitative research methodologies (Riley and Love 2000). Increasingly the once dominant pilgrim-touristic positivist methodologies have been challenged (Riley and Love 2000; Selby 2007; Tribe 2009) as researchers search for meaning, understanding, and subjectivity. Current research in pilgrim-touristic studies reflects the philosophical and methodological shift towards more interpretivist qualitative methodologies (Dora 2012; Andriotis 2011; Collins-Kreiner 2010; Badone and Roseman 2004). The paradigmatic shift reported here provides the rationale for the methodological position adopted in this study.

This study is grounded within the interpretive research paradigm, adopting a qualitative methodology. The methods of data collection are conversational interviews and observations within a micro-ethnographic design. A series of convenience sample interviews were conducted, prior to the micro-ethnographic study, which were intended to act as a piloting exercise upon which to base the thematic aide memoirs and focus of the unstructured conversational interviews. As the purpose of this study is to explore what factors influence the construction of individual's subjective meaning when visiting pilgrimage shrines, the inductive approach of data generation is appropriate. As such the inductive, subjective theory building approach was utilised in order to present a deeper understanding of the factors which construct individualised and personalised meaning.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is organised around six chapters. Chapter one, which has been reported, provides an introduction, rationale and justification to the study, as well as outlining the background and context of the research, the research aims and objectives, the methodological position and structure.

1.4.1 Chapter 2 – Literature Review

Chapter two reviews the literature in pilgrim and touristic studies. The chapter reviews the traditional (part one), intermediate, or bridging (part two), and contemporary (part three) paradigms, theories and concepts in the study of pilgrimage and tourism while also outlining the theoretical shift that has been characterised by a) the changes in how pilgrimage, theoretically and in practice, is perceived, and b) the influence of tourism literature and theory.

The chapter reviews the paradigmatic shift from objective reality to subjective reality which has been documented by Collins-Kreiner (2010); Andriotis (2011) and Dora (2012) but can also be evidenced in the earlier work of Badone and Roseman (2004) and Poria, Airey and Butler (2003). The chapter provides a theoretical timeline of how pilgrimage has become part of the consciousness of society. By adopting this format the literature review will present a movement from the traditional objective approach (the object/the site or shrine as the focus of attention) to the contemporary subjective approach (the experience/the subject/the person or individual as the focus of attention).

1.4.2 Chapter 3 – Methodology

The aim of chapter three is to describe and justify the philosophical and methodological approaches and methods used in this study. The chapter provides a platform for the data collection, analysis and interpretation as well as considering issues of ethics and accessibility.

Chapter three presents a detailed review of Guba's (1990) philosophical approaches; the epistemological (acceptable knowledge) position of this study is grounded in the philosophy of interpretivism. Interpretivism is a term given to a contrasting epistemological position to the traditional philosophies of positivism and the study of science and the scientific model. Interpretivists share a view that the subject disciplines and matter of the social sciences – people and their actions – are philosophically different from the scientific model and the natural sciences. The ontological (nature of social entities - how we perceive the world and thus the nature of reality) position of this study is broadly constructionist which would imply that social properties/actions are the outcome of the *"interactions between individuals, rather than phenomena 'out there' and separate from those involved in its construction"* (: 402). The methodological position of this study is qualitative adopting an inductive view of the *"relationship between theory and research, the former is generated out of the latter"* (Bryman and Bell 2007: 402).

The data collection method used in this study consisted of convenience sample interviews followed by a micro-ethnographic study which consisted of predominantly conversational interviews (Fetterman 2010; Gill and Johnson 2005; Holden 2006). The analysis of the data was conducted using the thematic analysis technique (see Crowther 2010; Braun and Clarke 2006; Bryman and Bell 2007; Denzin and Lincoln 1998). The findings are presented using direct quotations from the themes which emerged from the thematic analysis interspersed with the author's interpretations.

1.4.3 Chapter 4 – Findings

Chapter four gives an account of two field visits to Lourdes in south west France; a micro-ethnographic account of the annual Catholic Diocese of Lancaster pilgrimage in the summer of 2010 and a convenience sample of both pilgrims and tourists undertaken at the Grotto/Baths, Basilica and cafes/bars in Lourdes during the summer of 2009.

The data in chapter four are organised around four emergent themes;

5. The authority of the church and pilgrimage conflict
6. The contestation of dual space
7. The pull factors - experiencing Marian mysticism, cures and miracles - the meaning of pilgrimage
8. The testimonies of pilgrims – a confession of truth

The findings are presented verbatim from the transcriptions and are interspersed with the author's interpretations/comments/observations.

1.4.4 Chapter 5 – Discussion

Chapter five presents a theoretical and practical discussion. The chapter is structured around the four themes that emerged from the findings of this study; 1) the authority of the church and pilgrimage conflict, 2) the contestation of dual space, 3) the pull factors – experiencing

Marian mysticism, cures and miracles – the meaning of pilgrimage, and 4) the testimonies of pilgrims – a confession of truth. The discussion examines each theme in the context of the theoretical review and the paradigmatic shift from objectivity to subjectivity.

The chapter concludes by outlining how the discussion contributes to the existing theoretical literature on pilgrimage and tourism by applying the outcomes of the study to the practice of visiting Lourdes.

1.4.5 Chapter 6 - Analysis and Interpretation

Chapter six considers the analysis and interpretation of the research. The chapter presents an alternative theoretical/conceptual framework which responds to the research question by presenting three factors which influence the construction of meaning at pilgrimage shines;

1. leadership impact – *control, authority, itinerary, participation*
2. classification/belief – *unconditional, partial, disbelief, forming*
3. narrative interpretation – *stories, testimonies, recounts*

1.4.6 Chapter 7 – Conclusion

The final chapter assesses the contribution of this thesis to the theory and practice of visiting a major pilgrimage shrine by applying and layering the findings of this study to the theoretical literature. The final chapter presents an outline of the theoretical and practical application of this study. The chapter concludes by considering the limitations of the study, the areas for future research and the target audience for the research.

1.5 Chapter Conclusion

This study focuses on one of the most important Catholic pilgrimage shrines in Western Europe; Lourdes in France. Lourdes is representative of other pilgrimage shrines dedicated to Marian apparitions; the shrine has developed from a series of visitations that were the stimulus for the growth, development and devotion associated with the site (Taylor 2003). The redevelopment at Lourdes happened very quickly following the apparitions. Within ten years the shrine was transformed from its original natural state to a magnificent Basilica and centre of souvenir trade. Lourdes had become a major pilgrimage shrine in a very short period of time. The apparitions were accepted and authenticated by the church authorities and it was with unequivocal fervour that the Catholic community, initially in France but then spreading very quickly across most of Europe, accepted the apparitions as genuine (Taylor 2003). Today Lourdes remains one of the most visited global pilgrimage shrines. Religious visitors to Lourdes come for two reasons; 1) to view the site of the apparitions, and 2) to bathe in the waters of the spring which are symbolic of Mary's call to Bernadette to drink the water at the Grotto spring. Of course not all visitors to Lourdes come with a religious conviction; Lourdes remains one of the most visited cultural sites on the tourist's itinerary (Reader 2007) with an estimated one million of Lourdes visitors having no religious affiliation (Nolan and Nolan 1989).

The study documents the contemporary transformations in the study of pilgrimage. What is immediately evident from the opening paragraphs of the chapter is the diverse and often conflicting nature of pilgrimage (Eade and Sallnow 2000). While contemporised forms of pilgrimage advocate pseudo-spiritual activity such as 'roadside memorials' and secular 'idol' or 'celebrity' celebrations there is underlying evidence that the traditional format of 'religious' pilgrimage is still relevant. Secularism, however, has gradually become an accepted, and valid, form of pilgrimage that has theoretical, as well as applied, support (Morinis 1992 in Badone and Roseman 2004; Grider 2001; Reader and Walter 1993). As Badone and Roseman (2004) so poignantly point out, it is the pursuit of the *ideal* that defines pilgrimage whether deified or not. This thesis presents a theoretical framework for the study of pilgrimage and tourism which posits a significant shift in a) how individuals engage with formal and informal religious activity, and b) how the act of pilgrimage has become focused on the individual search for meaning. This study places the pilgrim at the centre of the research. The study aims to explore the factors which influence the construction of individual's subjective meaning when visiting pilgrimage shrines and thus presents a transcript which traces the theoretical and experiential aspects of visiting a major pilgrimage shrine.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

The sacred is not a given or something fixed, but must be constantly created and recreated. A conscious effort is required on the part of the pilgrim to use the appropriate symbols, myths, and rituals in order to vivify the experience of pilgrimage and to make real the sacredness of the place

McKevitt (1988)

If you picture today's tourists as pilgrims, which they are in a way, the narrow, cobbled streets of the old city look much as they did 800 years ago.

(Lonely Planet 2001)

2.0 Introduction – The Literature Context

This chapter is set out in three parts that critique the changes that have taken place in pilgrimage research by reviewing the literature on the subject. The chapter reviews the traditional (part one), intermediate (part two) and contemporary (part three) paradigms, theories and concepts in the study of pilgrimage while also outlining the theoretical shift that has been characterised by a) the changes in how pilgrimage, theoretically, is perceived, and b) the influence of tourism literature and theory. By adopting this format the literature review will present a movement from the traditional objective approach - the object/the site or shrine as the focus of attention - to the contemporary subjective approach - the experience/the subject/the person or individual as the focus of attention. Part one explores the key definitions in the study of pilgrimage and tourism as well as critiquing 1) the early theoretical models of pilgrim/touristic academic literature, i.e. Turner and Turner (1978), Nolan and Nolan (1989), and 2) the later objective motivation theory of Murray and Graham (1997), Reader (2007) and most notably Blackwell (2007). For the purpose of the structure of this review there is the inclusion of an intermediate, or bridging, section (part two) which has been included to represent a period of theoretical debate within pilgrimage studies, but which also includes the influence of tourism as both a shared and parallel activity, that marks and records the stimulus for the shift from objective/external theory (part one) to subjective/internal theory (part three); the intermediate section is centred, predominantly, on the work of Smith (1992), Stoddard (1996) and Santos (2003) who 'intentionally' disaggregate the pilgrim and tourist based upon specific, identifiable and measurable characteristics, and the counter-Turnerian theories of Sallnow (1981), Eade and Sallnow (1991), Eade (1991) and Eade (1992). Part two also considers the work of Reader and Walter (1993) who are the early proponents of secular 'touristic' pilgrimage as a serious discipline. Part three examines contemporary theory in the study of pilgrimage and tourism. This final section considers the claim that objectivity in the study of pilgrimage, once the dominant paradigm, has been replaced by a new subjective engagement with pilgrimage sites, both religious and secular. Part three also examines the work of Collins-Kreiner (2010) and Dora (2012) who both claim that subjectivity in pilgrimage and tourism is understudied; *"Only recently have researchers started to examine the effect of visits on visitors in a more specific manner"* (Collins-Kreiner 2010: 9); *"What surrounds the shrines and how it affects both the shrine's status and visitor's experience has usually gone largely understudied, if not ignored"* (Dora 2012: 952). The fact that subjectivity in pilgrimage and tourism has largely been understudied may be a partial

consequence of the traditions in tourism/pilgrimage research which have tended to focus on quantitative methodologies. This proposition may be due to the economic significance of tourism/pilgrimage and the subsequent measurement of flow patterns and movements which have been used to promote religious tourism destinations as a positive economic force. Part three concludes by drawing together the philosophical issues in pilgrimage and tourism by providing a clear, undiluted, route to subjectivity that uses current theoretical thinking as an underpinning basis.

2.1 Part One – Pilgrimage and Religious Tourism - The Objective View

2.1.1. The consequences of defining pilgrimage – Contemporising the traditional

This section of the literature review is concerned with presenting a theoretical review of the traditions in pilgrimage and tourism research. An important inclusion in these introductory paragraphs is setting the context of pilgrimage and tourism by examining the timeline of traditional and contemporary academic definitions and conceptualisations. As the title to this section suggests there are consequences in defining such a complex phenomenon as pilgrimage; *firstly* there is no agreed definition that is accepted by the five major faiths (Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism and Islam); *secondly*, for every thematic inclusion there is likely to be a thematic exclusion; and *thirdly*, pilgrimage, like other social structures, is not a static activity. The term pilgrimage, in contemporary terms, connotes many different things to many different people. The introduction chapter in this study has already commented upon the factors that may be stimulating an alternative form of pseudo-pilgrimage (see Tearfund 2006). The recent phenomenon of makeshift or spontaneous sites, that mark places of tragic death, and which are often referred to as shrines or sacred pieces of ground, are an example of an impromptu contemporary pseudo-pilgrimage stimulated by catastrophe or tragedy (MacConville 2006; Hartig and Dunn 1998). Equally one might refer to the increasing growth of secular forms of pilgrimage that reflect and fulfil the contemporary perception of what constitutes postmodern individualistic spirituality as an example of the change in the use of the word pilgrimage; examples include the Pont de l' Alma in Paris, France; the location of the death of Princess Diana – now a major tourist shrine visited by tens of thousands of 'Diana pilgrims' each year; and Graceland, the home of Elvis Presley – a pilgrimage that has been likened to the great European route based pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, with emblazoned signs directing the devoted, thousands of miles across America to visit the grave of the 'King' (Reader and Walter 1993). The concept of pilgrimage, one might suggest, in contemporary language is not static; it is a continuous, fluid concept that reflects attitudes, cultural-norms, beliefs and socio-spiritual demographics...factors that perhaps suggest individuals are responding to pilgrimage in a relatively ad hoc, unstructured and non-committal way (Odell 2012; Taylor 2003). This perspective is a significant digression, however, from the traditional Latin derivation of the term ...*peregrinus*... (pilgrim) which suggests *"broader interpretations, including foreigner, wanderer, exile, and traveller, as well as newcomer and stranger"* (Smith 1992: 1). The terminology used by Smith (1992) may have more resonance with the traditional 'medieval' view of pilgrimage that continues to dominate a) the informal religious literature and b) the marketing of pilgrim/touristic sites. As Keil (2003) points out *"in the study of religious*

pilgrimage however it is the later medieval period, and the apparitions and visions of religious founders, that has left the greatest marker on how the contemporary pilgrim would perceive their expectations, penitence and gratification" (:1) [1]. Keil (2003 & 2005) offers an alternative counter-contemporary position that continues to hold religion, religious activity and the right of religiosity as the definitive markers of pilgrimage.

The discussion regarding definitions thus far has presented two clear perspectives; the traditional 'religious' definition and the contemporary 'spiritual' definition. Barber (1993) perhaps offers the most comprehensive traditional academic and religious definition; *"...a journey resulting from religious causes, externally to a holy site, and internally for spiritual purposes and internal understanding"* (:1). Defining pilgrimage in religious terminology is, however, not a recent phenomenon. One may identify classic literary counter-theoretical examples of allegorical and character narration in the works of Chaucer and Bunyan; both examples offering a distinct perspective of what 'religious' pilgrimage may mean for the individual. Chaucer's classic 'Canterbury Tales' for example, while seemingly an introspective of simple spiritual well-being actually explores the broader base desires and motivations and is in fact much more akin to a *"more earthly nature"* (Griffin 2007 in Raj and Morpeth 2007: 19), that one would identify with more contemporised observations of subjective/internal meaning at pilgrimage sites. Equally Bunyan's (Pilgrim's Progress) superlative account of pilgrimage offers an alter position where the underlying act of pilgrimage is used to draw a comparative allegorical picture that reflects the journey through life; a concept not too distant from the contemporary interpretations of pilgrimage that focus on the individual inner experience and inner self (see part two and three). It is perhaps Wiederkehr (2001) who most eloquently develops and contemporises Barber's (1993) definition by concentrating upon the 'internal' mechanism of pilgrimage; *"...it is a transformational journey during which significant change takes place...new insights are given...deeper understanding is attained. New and old places in the heart are visited. Blessings are received. Healing takes place. On return from the pilgrimage, life is seen with different eyes. Nothing will ever be quite the same again"* (:11). Wiederkehr's (2001) definition is perhaps the most appropriate approach given that it can be applied in both a traditional and contemporary setting; to both the internal and external; "*and to both religious and secular pilgrimage"* (Griffin 2007 in Raj and Morpeth 2007: 19-20). Perhaps an appropriate addition to Wiederkehr's (2007) definition of the 'general characteristics' of pilgrimage is Raj and Morpeth's (2007) claim that the common factors in all pilgrimages, however, are that like religion, it is an ambiguous, deeply personal and often irrational veneration of a supernatural force that is both transcendental and powerful.

2.1.2 The influence of tourism

The complexity of bringing together pilgrimage and religious tourism, for definition purposes, has been well documented (Graburn 1977 & 1983; MacCannell 1976; Marnham 1980; Morinis 1984; Smith 1992; Stoddard 1996; MacCannell 2001; Badone and Roseman 2004; Collins-Kreiner 2010; Andriotis 2011; Dora 2012). Tourism, as a discipline, has been defined in countless academic studies in countless ways [2] but it was not until the 1970s that the differentiation of tourism and pilgrimage, *"as two separate subjects warranting little*

interrelated or comparative treatment" (Collins-Kreiner 2010: 3) was questioned as having little academic or practical validity. Graburn (1977) was one of the first proponents of the theoretical paradigm that suggested the *"existence of parallel processes in both formal pilgrimage and tourism that could be interpreted as sacred journeys...these journeys, he contended, are about self-transformation and the gaining of knowledge and status through contact with the extraordinary or sacred"* (adaptation from Collins-Kreiner 2010: 4). Graburn (1977 & 1983) and MacCannell (1976) were the early proponents of the theory of tourism as a transformative spiritual process that draws on the same basic motivational structures as religious pilgrimage; tourism, according to MacCannell (1976) fulfils individuals' needs for periodic spiritual renewal. Interestingly it was MacCannell (1976) and Graburn (1983) who were the first to offer a theoretical response *"to a history of negative evaluations of mass tourism that depict it as a trivial subject for academic investigation and a frivolous inauthentic activity characteristic of the pseudo-events of modern capitalist society"* (Graburn 1983: 15). Indeed it was Graburn (1983) who argues that tourism fulfils similar purposes, if not the same purposes, to those of earlier categories of travel, such as *"pre-modern European and Asian pilgrimages"* (:15).

The early models of tourist typology complement the relationship between the pilgrim and tourist. If one accepts Cohen's (1972) typology of tourists - the organised mass tourist, the individual mass tourist, the explorer and the drifter - as a meaningful academic theory, one must also then accept that the tourist, by definition, is not unreflective or commonsensical and could actually be warranted as something more than a separate unrelated subject to the pilgrim (see Plog 1974 & Dann 1981; McCabe 2005). This is a critical point in the bringing together of what was previously viewed as two separate socio-psychological entities (Collins-Kreiner 2010). Research in the study of pilgrim-touristic dedifferentiation has claimed that in practice *"differences between tourism, pilgrimage and even secular pilgrimage are narrowing"* (Bilu 1998; Kong 2001 in Collins-Kreiner 2010: 4). The first part of this sub-section suggests that there may be a consequence when defining pilgrimage and religious tourism and proceeds to present three reasons why this claim is made. The consequence of defining is a central component of this work and is also a thematic constant as the literature development moves from the objective/external to the subjective/internal. The de-differentiation theory of pilgrims and tourists may therefore offer a fourth defining consequence. For example, to suggest that there are rigid consequential dichotomies between defining the pilgrim and tourist may be outdated, especially when one considers the influence that postmodernism has had on peoples' travel (pilgrimage) patterns and the activities in which they selectively take part in; notwithstanding the variety of pre & post-purchase reasons for making those decisions (Swarbrooke 1999 & 1994) (also see Reader 2007; Sharpley 1999; Murray and Graham 1997; Marnham 1980).

The application of typological touristic models in the study of pilgrimage can also be evidenced in the later work of Cohen (1979) who stimulates the theoretical discussion of pilgrim/touristic linkages by suggesting that the tourist is searching for the same intangible returns as the pilgrim; these include the search for reality and pseudo-spiritual identity (see Keil 2003). The constant characteristic between pilgrim and tourist however is that they are

philosophically, if not actually, non-captive and therefore are not rule bound like other more structured obligatory activities – the theoretical principle of anathematical control would certainly apply if one considers the relative 'freedom' one has in selecting ones' leisure activity (McCabe 2005; Torkildsen 2005; Urry 2011 & 2001). It may however be the case that within McCabe's (2005) anathematical freedom there is, in reality, structured, objective, institutionalised control. Earlier theorisations of structured objectivity include Boorstin's (1960) thesis which supported the view that tourists/pilgrims are trapped in a cycle of expectation dominated by the external marker. Boorstin (1960) claimed that the tourist/pilgrim had, by the early 1960s, become an army of semioticians, looking for signs or images of cultural practices and attractions rather than seeking to understand their true subjective and individually constructed meaning. Boorstin's (1960) theoretical position advocates pure objectivity; it is not spontaneous, it promotes immediacy, it is ambiguous, and it is self-fulfilling. Boorstin's (1960) early theorisations have been the focus of much criticism, particularly when one considers that the objectivist approach assumes that each participant must therefore be within a parameter framed experience with no view beyond the immediate. The supposition that one can claim objectivity because one can measure objectivity fails when one poses the question of – who is measuring objectivity (Belhassen, Caton and Stewart 2008). Urry (1990), perhaps, offers the most convincing support for Boorstin's (1960) theory of tourist/pilgrim objectivity by promoting a level of freedom, even subjectivity, from the hermeneutic circle of determinism, by claiming that within ordered, structured objectivity there is, potentially, individual freedom. Urry (1990) presents a Foucaultian inspired theory, which in the context of tourism/pilgrimage, supports relative subjective freedom within the structured, institutionalised and itinerised control that is laid down by the marker (tour operator or church authority in this case). MacCannell (2001), while not totally dismissive of Urry's (1990) proposition of partial subjectivity, does point out that a parameter bound subjectivity can only be as free as the desire of those that benefit most from it will allow it to be.

2.1.3 Early 'Turnerian' theoretical approaches – Towards an objective framework

The origins of pilgrimage are unclear and uncertain. If one is to posit that people have always had a spiritual aspect to their lives then it would also be acceptable to suggest that the act of 'going on pilgrimage' is as old as humanity itself (Vukonic 1996). Human behaviour is not constant however. To suggest that pilgrimage is a replicable concept over time may be as flawed as suggesting that spirituality can be meaningfully measured or objectively assessed. Of course, for the individual, pilgrimage has different meaning and implications; both of which depend on a variety of interrelated factors such as time, experience, culture, socio-spiritual persuasion and belief patterns. The separation of spirituality from everyday life may be as quantifiably difficult as disaggregating the act of work from leisure; especially if one is applying this template to pilgrimage (Torkildsen 2005). If one is to support the theory that spirituality cannot be separated from other human activity then it may be convenient to accept the proposition that the spirit, or the act of being spiritual, is not a product of free or alternative time (Timothy and Olsen 2006; Torkildsen 2005; Fleischer 2000; Vukonic 1996). Evidence of the reporting of such activity can be traced to the pre-history prototypical or

ancestral pilgrimage shrines as well as the shrines of Martyrs and Saints. Evidence continues to support the theory of spiritual inseparability when one considers the veneration of water, mountains and wind; all of which partially constitute everything around us (John and Rees 2002). The primitive notion of local deities suggests a form of localised, inseparable and immediate control where for example the river gods could only exercise their power over those who approached the river, thus supporting a theory that promotes immediacy (see MacCannell 2001) and inseparability from ones' immediate environment. In a similar way the gods of localised areas could only favour or destroy men within their own locality. The officials of the King of Aram, for example, advised him, *"Their gods are gods of the hills. That is why they were too strong for us. But if we fight them on the plains surely we will be stronger than they"* (1 Kings 20: 23), (Holy Bible: New International Version 1996). The biblical example, from the book of Kings, supports the early theoretical interpretations of spirituality and humanity being inseparable, interdependent factors.

Early proponents of pilgrimage may support the theory of inseparability but it was van Gennep who, theoretically, offered the first credible alternative. Arnold van Gennep (1960), the French ethnographer and folklorist, was the first to suggest that the practice of ancient tribes, such as the Huichol, the Luanda, and the Shona, may be early examples of a theoretical model that conceptualises pilgrimage as a separated, ritualised act that occurs outside of the 'ordinary'. van Gennep (1960) presents a model that focuses upon *rites of passage* [3] as the central feature of the act of pilgrimage. van Gennep's (1960) *rites of passage* are characterised by three stages; separation, limen and return. Turner and Turner (1978) fully embrace van Gennep's (1960) theory as an interpretation of pilgrimage that does not disaggregate spirituality from everyday activity but alternatively presents a model that offers an alter/separated condition of individuals during the process of pilgrimage (specifically). The van Gennep (1960) model, adapted by Turner and Turner (1978), represents the first *"broad-ranging theoretical model for the anthropological interpretation of pilgrimage"* (Badone and Roseman 2004: 3). The adaptation of van Gennep's (1960) theory, by the Turners (1978), places the act of liminality as a central focal point for the pilgrim; a symbolic exit from one social space of everyday existence into a separated, in-between, state where one is suspended between two social worlds. The Turnerian (1978) interpretation of van Gennep's (1960) theory offers a theoretical distraction when one considers that the central unifying Turnerian outcome of liminality is communitas; or the community/relational communication that one may have with other individuals while in a state of pilgrimage limen (Turner and Turner 1978). Turner and Turner (1978) reject the proposition that pilgrimage, and more specifically the act of separating oneself to a state of limen, is an ordered activity; the Turners (1978) advocate the state of limen as a geographical and socially marginalised existence where one escapes the structured, ordered and rule-governed strictures of everyday life. One may also apply this theoretical position to that of the tourist (Keil 2003). The Turners (1978) claim of communitas is however, theoretically, problematic. If one is to support the claim that, theoretically, pilgrims enter an 'inbetwixt' existence then there are obvious questions that one may demand with regards to whether this is a state that all pilgrims or indeed all pilgrimages will experience. Equally, Morinis (1992), questioned the suitability and application of a structural framework that can be applied to rites of passage in

a cultural setting as complex as pilgrimage. Morinis (1992) presented the theory that by using the van Gennep (1960) framework, in a pilgrimage setting, one would seriously distort our understanding of a more diverse ritualistic phenomenon. The view presented by Morinis (1992) is not dissimilar to the counter-Turnerian views of Eade and Sallnow (1991) that defiantly reject the concept of communitas based upon interaction between pilgrims – or more specifically the lack of interaction, subjective and personal (see part two for a full description). The Turnerian (1978) theory does however provide a baseline paradigm for the study of pilgrimage, tourism and religious activity. The application of van Gennep's (1960) model of separation, limen and return, to the act of pilgrimage, while not fully reflective of the complexity of socio-spiritual subjective aspects of the pilgrim experience, does present an ethnographic/anthropological interpretation of pilgrimage that had not been seen before the Turnerian (1978) theory (of interpretation and application) (Badone and Roseman 2004).

The work of Turner and Turner (1978) stands out as perhaps the most influential anthropological study of pilgrimage in the twentieth century. While the theory of separation, limen and return may have advocated a social space where communities are formed and friendships are created, the theory was/is limited in application. The Turners (1978) present a theoretical condition that is framed by van Gennep's (1960) construction that focuses upon the universal characteristics (including the site) and social functions of pilgrimage (Eade and Sallnow 1991). Eade and Sallnow (1991) were perhaps the first to recognise the objectivity of the Turner (1978) model and thus its limitations in viewing each pilgrimage, and pilgrim, as separate constructive processes where understanding, meaning and significance are relative to the individual, the group construction and the nature of the shrine.

2.1.4 The turning tide - Post 'Turnerian' motivational objectivity

The 1989 study of Christian pilgrimage in modern Western Europe by Sidney and Mary Lee Nolan is perhaps the epitome of the structured, externalised approach that characterised pilgrimage and religious tourism literature and theoretical debates in the 1970s and 1980s. The Nolan and Nolan (1989) study presents an examination of 6,150 Christian shrines in sixteen Western European countries. Table 2.1 - Estimated Number of Shrine Visitations in Western Europe – is typical of the statistical approach that the Nolan and Nolan (1989) study used to collect, analyse and interpret the vast amounts of data that are included in their multidisciplinary approach. The Nolan and Nolan (1989) study presents a comprehensive shrine inventory which also includes a detailed description and explanation of the origins and features of each site. The opening paragraphs of the Nolan and Nolan (1989) study sets out a clear objective; *"...to describe and interpret the dimensions of the contemporary Western European pilgrimage field with specific emphasis on regional variations in types of shrines and pilgrimages...in order to develop an adequately large and broadly distributed database we collected and analysed information on 6,150 places of pilgrimage..."* (:4).

Table 2.1 Estimated Number of Shrine Visitations in Western Europe

Estimated Number of Annual Visits by Pilgrims and Religiously Motivated Travellers	Number of Shrines or Shrine Complexes	Estimated Average Number of Visits per Shrine or Complex	Estimated Number of Visits
4,000,000 or more	2	4,000,000	8,000,000
1,000,000 to 4,000,000	17	1,000,000	17,000,000
400,000 to 1,000,000	26	500,000	13,000,000
100,000 to 400,000	90	150,000	13,500,000
10,000 to 100,000	285	30,000	8,550,000
1,000 to 10,000	1,586	3,000	4,758,000
Less than 1000	225	500	112,500
No estimates	3,919	500	1,959,000
Total	6,150		66,880,500

Source: Nolan and Nolan (1989)

The Nolan and Nolan (1989) study is focused, predominantly, upon constructing a shrine inventory that describes regional variations as well as identifying the range of visitors at each site, which they conveniently classified as; traditional pilgrims, members of organised religious tours, and mass tourists simply checking off sites on their vacation itinerary (Badone and Roseman 2004; Collins-Kreiner 2010). The classification of visitors, constructed by Nolan and Nolan (1989), negates the significance of the individual to the wider situational factors that combined equally present a Turnerian (1978) liminality that is far wider than the intended scope. By designating the individual to 'touristic' type...typologies; Nolan and Nolan (1989) restrict the applicability of the 'experiential' beyond simplistic classifications. The theoretical debasing of typological studies has been well documented in the study of tourism (see MacCannell 2001) but there still remains, at least on a practical level, an enthusiasm for the classification of pilgrims and tourists [4]. The Nolan and Nolan (1989) study, while offering a comprehensive statistical inventory, fails to fully embrace how each of 'their' typological classifications may interact between classifications; or construct individualised internal meaning; or differentiate themselves from one another. This would then include a fourth classification – locals – especially given that the Nolan and Nolan study (1989) refers to 7 percent of the 6,150 shrines – approx 430 sites -

as localised by definition – i.e. in the sense that they draw pilgrims almost entirely from a single rural community or urban neighbourhood.

The Nolan and Nolan (1989) study presents an opportunity for the academic theorisation of pilgrimage as a major social and cultural phenomenon. Prior to the Nolan and Nolan (1989) work the study of pilgrimage, both pious and touristic, had been dominated, for over a decade, by the Turnerian (1978) theory of separation, limen and return. The Nolan and Nolan (1989) study, while perhaps not offering a fuller examination of subjectivity, inner meaning or individual construction does provide an 'informal' glimpse of the motivational reasons for 'membership' of each of their classifications of pilgrimage groups (traditional pilgrims, members of organised religious tours, and mass tourists). The study is limited, however, by simplistic classifications, dependent upon placement on the Nolan and Nolan (1989) continuum of motivation that rejects movement or counter-objectivity - especially if one, considers/applies this to, the Nolan and Nolan (1989) theorisation of *'shrine relationships with tourism"* (:16-17) [5]. The study of objective motivation may have its foundations in the objectivity of place, emphasised by Turner and Turner (1978), and the structured classifications of the Nolan's (1989), but there does appear to be a broader movement that continues to advocate objective motivation as a measurement of pilgrimage; both internally and externally. Murray and Graham (1997), in their study of the tensions and conflicts on the Camino de Santiago pilgrimage, were perhaps the first to offer a perspective that views pilgrim/touristic activity as multi-layered and therefore multi-motivated. Murray and Graham (1997), in their study, refer to the Nolan and Nolan (1989) definition of pilgrimage *"...a religious phenomenon in which an individual or group sets forth on a journey to a particular cult location to seek the intercession of God and the saints of that place in an array of concerns"* (:514). The Nolan and Nolan (1989) definition, however, fails to identify touristic or secularised forms of activity as a key motivator or contributory element of the pilgrimage experience. The opportunity to assess the Nolan and Nolan (1989) objective definitional theory appears to be relative to points of reference however – especially given that each of the Nolan and Nolan (1989) classifications has disaggregated and, importantly, opposing motivations. Murray and Graham (1997) distinguish motivation by activity (Table 2.2), typically relying on the Confraternity of St James to separate and categorise the pilgrim-tourist population. The Murray and Graham (1997) study focuses on motive rather than meaning; the study calls for the creation of a *"...effective classification and measurement of users that distinguishes between mode and motive..."* (:523), a relative point of reference that disaggregates one classification from another. The Murray and Graham (1997), Nolan and Nolan inspired, classification of 'subjects' relies on typological motivation and minimal movement between typologies as the key determinant in the categorising of the pilgrim and the tourist (see Altet 2004).

Table 2.2 Membership of the Confraternity of Saint James: Motivations for interest in the pilgrimage to Santiago

Motivations **Category**	Number	Percentage
Cultural	447	73.28
Sport and physical	108	17.70
Religious/spiritual/faith	55	9.02
Total motivations noted (1995)	610	100.00

Source: Murray and Graham (1997)

Reader (2007) offers an alternative view of pilgrimage objective motivation by claiming that *"there are many enduring motivational themes in pilgrimages across the ages, even if some of these have changed in terms of nuance...some motivations and themes that were prevalent in earlier times may also be amplified in the modern era; the desire to break away from or escape, albeit temporarily, from one's existing situation may have long motivated pilgrims to leave their abodes and go on pilgrimage..."* (:215). Reader (2007) presents an objective approach in his study of Japanese pilgrims visiting the shrine at Shikoku, by presenting a motivational framework (Table 2.3) that assesses the reasons for an increase in visitations at the Shikoku shrine. Reader's (2007) assessment reinforces the 'objectivity' of measurement by separating motivations based on 'reasons' for visiting rather than what may lie behind those decisions. One may draw a comparison at this point in this study with the earlier typological theorisations of Boorstin (1960). While Reader (2007) acknowledges ideas already discussed in this thesis, such as contemporary disengagement with religion and growth in pilgrimage, it is interesting to note that Reader (2007) also points to more specific motivations for visiting pilgrimage shrines, often overlapping, and most certainly stimulated by a sense of singularity.

Table 2.3 Motivations for Increases in Pilgrimages: The Shikoku Pilgrimage Japan

1. memorialising one's deceased kin
2. creating merit as preparation for one's own death
3. engaging in aesthetic practices
4. seeking enlightenment
5. searching for salvation
6. seeking miracles and solace in the face of bad fortune
7. seeking healing and other practical benefits
8. seeking spiritual help to ward off bad luck
9. performing penitence for sins

10. fulfilling vows
11. escaping one's everyday surroundings

Source: Reader (2007)

If one is to present a polarised view of objective and subjective theory in the study of pilgrimage and tourism, as a consequence of theoretical development, then perhaps a useful point, theoretically, to draw this section to a conclusion is with the work of Blackwell (2007). Blackwell (2007), in her study of motivations for religious tourism, pilgrimage, religious festivals and religious events, concentrates on what actually motivates people, *"seeking, therefore, to identify and explain relevant factors"* (Blackwell 2007: 35). This approach identifies people's needs and aims; ultimately to rank those needs in order of importance/strength. The Blackwell (2007) study places a clear marker between the 'religious tourist' and the 'pilgrim' through a classification system based upon characteristics. Religious tourism is, according to Blackwell (2007), said to have five characteristics; *"1) voluntary, temporary and unpaid travel, 2) motivated by religion, 3) supplemented by other motivations, 4) the destination is a religious site (local, regional, national or international), 5) travel to the destination is not a religious practice"* (:38). The important point of demarcation, in Blackwell's (2007) study, is the exclusion of pilgrimage from the motives of the religious tourist, i.e. travel for the religious tourist is not a religious practice. The reality of separating the tourist from the pilgrim, based on motivation, offers an alternative objectivity that is characterised by clearly marked motivations that supports an externally driven typology that is both structured and institutionally driven (see MacCannell 2001). It would, on this evidence, be difficult to separate Blackwell's (2007) pilgrim/tourist from the earlier theorisations of Boorstin (1960) and the other proponents of limited freedom studies.

Pilgrimage, according to Blackwell (2007), is the outcome of, and can be directly linked to motivation. The defining point in applying motivational theory, to the study of pilgrimage and tourism, is in the selection of methods. Blackwell (2007) points to two methods that offer an opportunity to assess 1) what actually motivates people - content theory, and 2) the actual process of motivation, so that they aim to *"identify the relationship between various dynamic variables which influence individual motivation"* - process theory (:40). The most popular content theorist was Maslow (1954) who claimed that people's needs could be sub-divided into five incremental categories from lower to higher needs; lower needs are classified as basic such as food, shelter and sleep, whereas Maslow's higher level needs were esteem and self actualisation. One can of course identify the usefulness of Maslow's hierarchy in the study of pilgrimage/tourism by attaching his needs classification to an individual's reason for undertaking a pilgrimage (Blackwell 2007). At a basic level an individual may have the need for acceptance within a group setting *"to make friends or feel part of a group of like-minded individuals…once their lower order needs have been met people might be motivated by the need to gain the esteem of their religious community…"* (Blackwell 2007: 41). Maslow's seminal work was developed in the 1970s by Herzberg (1974) who claimed that content theory could be sub-divided into two factors; hygiene and motivators. Hygiene factors, according to Herzberg, do not actually motivate the individual but if they are not present lead to feelings of dissatisfaction. Motivators, on the other hand, are those things that will

motivate but not necessarily prove dissatisfying if they are not present. Blackwell (2007) applies Herzberg's theory to the study of pilgrimage motivation and suggests that in the management and control of pilgrimage tourism sites this theory may have resonance (Table 2.4).

Table 2.4 Herzberg's Two-Factor Theory of Motivation

[as applied to pilgrimage and religious tourism] (adapted from Herzberg 1974)

Hygiene factors	**Application to pilgrimage and religious tourism**	**Motivators**	**Application to pilgrimage and religious tourism**
Salary	Income to afford travel, accommodation, time off work	*Sense of achievement*	Personal satisfaction, overcoming physical hardship of travel
Job security	Security of destination, travel arrangements	*Recognition*	Photograph, certificate, participation in ceremony
Working conditions	Quality of travel, destination, accommodation, freedom from conflict	*Responsibility*	Responsibility for own religious achievement, responsibility for others *en route* and at destination
Level/quality of supervision	Couriers, accommodation management	*Nature of the work*	Pilgrimage, experience at religious destination, participation in ceremony
Company policy and administration	Policy affecting religious travel and pilgrimage, administrative efficiency	*Personal growth and advancement*	Religious experiences *en route* and at destination
Interpersonal relations	Local inhabitants, fellow travellers, staff and volunteers at destination, travel company,	*Interpersonal relations*	Satisfaction of spiritual needs, survival skills acquired and used on pilgrimage

	accommodation		

Source: Blackwell (2007)

The process theory of motivation places the emphasis on the *"actual process of motivation and, in doing so, focuses on identifying the relationship between various dynamic variables that influence the individual's motivation"* (Blackwell 2007: 43). Commonly the process theory of motivation draws on the work of Vroom (1964) who states that individuals are motivated by expectancy (expectancy theory) which results in a reward. The rewards, according to Vroom, are such that they motivate the individual to carry out the act; of pilgrimage for example. Expectancy theory places the emphasis on the perception that the outcome will happen if the individual puts in enough effort to achieve it. It can therefore be argued that the expectancy theory of motivation is concerned with the relationship between performance, effort and outcome (or satisfaction) commonly referred to as *valence.* Blackwell (2007) uses three examples to illustrate the application of expectancy theory in the study of pilgrimage tourism; *"1) a person has an expectancy that by undertaking a pilgrimage their spirituality will be enhanced; 2) taking part in a pilgrimage is instrumental to that person achieving their spiritual goal; and 3) intrinsic rewards (enhanced spirituality, self-actualisation) plus extrinsic rewards (recognition, increased recognition within their religious community) create valence"* (:44). As Blackwell (2007) points out, the individual must believe that the act of pilgrimage will enhance their spirituality. The process theory of motivation does not make generalised assumptions about what may motivate an individual (like content theory) but focuses on *"how people's needs and wants affect their behaviour and, therefore, they are considered to be more universally applicable than content theories"* (Blackwell 2007: 44), especially when one considers the complex decisions and actions of the pilgrim/tourist.

Blackwell (2007) concluding her study refers to the complex, multifaceted and multilayered motivation for visiting religious shrines. If one is to suggest that 'the motives of pilgrim/tourists' is a complex combination of multifarious inter-relating factors then perhaps content and process theory go some way in explaining basic 'contributory' motivating factors. Blackwell's (2007) references to motivation do not however stand alone but are linked at each point in the study to meaning and expectation; separate factors that while dependent upon motivation must also rely on other extraneous factors outside of the fuller scope of Blackwell's (2007) content or process theorisations.

The objective theory in the study of pilgrimage and tourism places the emphasis upon two critical markers; 1) the shrine/site as the central unifying focus, and 2) the binary opposition of pilgrims and tourists.

Dora (2012) presents the view that the traditional study of pilgrimage and tourism has largely been dealt with through rigid dichotomies such as sacred/profane, or tourist/pilgrim. While more recent studies (part two and three) have seen a proliferation of theory that destabilises the view of binary opposition of pilgrims and tourists and the focus of the shrine as the central point of focus in the study of pilgrimage (as places of symbolism, ontological power

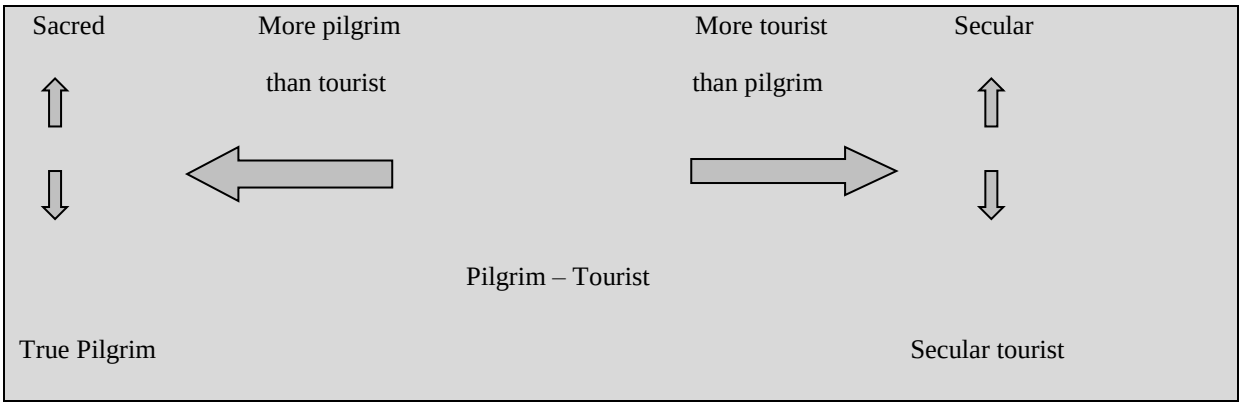
or spiritual magnetism), the theoretical journey that has been documented in this section, while offering a partial situational analysis of the individual connection with pilgrimage, predominantly presents a theoretical picture that is dominated by the sites/shrines as social spaces that dominate motive/meaning and expectation. As Dora (2012) remonstrates, *"...the visitors' experience has usually gone largely understudied, if not ignored"* (: 952) (Dora 2012; Andriotis 2011; Collins-Kreiner 2010; Badone and Roseman 2004).

2.2 Part Two - Pilgrimage and Religious Tourism – The Intermediate Theorisations - Approaching Subjectivity

2.2.1 From the sacred to the secular – The classification of pilgrims and tourists

Smith (1992) in a special 'pilgrimage and tourism' issue of the Annals of Tourism Research (Vol. 19, No. 1, 1992) was perhaps one of the first (see also Graburn 1977 & 1983) to offer the perspective that *"the contemporary use of the terms, identifying the pilgrim as a religious traveller and the tourist as a vacationer, is a culturally constructed polarity that veils the motives of the travellers quest"* (: 1). The Smith (1992) theory was, and remains, a critical point in the conceptualisation of pilgrimage as an autonomous and singular activity; the Smith (1992) theory is based on a continuum that demarcates the points between pilgrim and tourist – Fig 2.1.

Fig 2.1 The Pilgrim Tourist Continuum



Source: Smith (1992)

It has been noted (Dora 2012; Collins-Kreiner 2010; Badone and Roseman 2004) that the model presented by Smith (1992), while polarising pilgrims and tourists, to either end of the pilgrimage-tourism axis, does offer a series of connections between the end points that gives an endless range of sacred-secular combinations. The central point, characterised by limitless combinations, is according to Collins-Kreiner (2010), reflective of *"the multiple and changing motivations of travellers – whose interests and activities may change – consciously or subconsciously – from tourism to pilgrimage and vice versa"* (:4). There is a clear implication of differentiation in Smith's (1992) framework, especially if one is to adopt the mediocre terminology, used by Smith (1992), that one may use to describe the 'tourist'; such as hedonism, pleasure seeking and wish-fulfilment. Equally one might contrast the terminology of the tourist with Turnbull's (1981) claim that pilgrims gain a sense of

belonging to a religious or spiritual heritage rather than a cultural one, which represents the tourist. Smith (1992) is keen to align the competing and polarised points, on her continuum, by suggesting that *"...the sacred is not necessarily solemn or restricted to the pilgrim...tourist encounters can be just as compelling and almost spiritual in personal meaning"* (:2). The important inclusion in Smith's (1992), assessment of the complexity in disaggregating the pilgrim and tourist, is perhaps the final note which puts forward a theorisation that the effect of one's encounters, whether tourist or pilgrim, can have personal spiritual meaning. It was not until Turner and Turner (1978) proclaimed *"a tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist...even when people bury themselves in anonymous crowds on beaches, they are seeing an almost sacred, often symbolic, mode of communitas, generally unavailable to them in the structured life of the office, the shop floor, or the mine"* (:20), that one was able to view pilgrimage as an alternative form of religious/spiritual re-engagement. Encounters [6] perhaps offer an alternative perspective of pilgrimage and tourism that minimises the earlier 'shrine or site' focused objectivity of the Turner's (1978) and the Nolan's (1989), and presents an alternative 'intermediate' position that perhaps contributes to the more specific shaping of the pilgrims' experience (Dora 2012).

Smith (1992) does attempt to justify her continuum of pilgrim/tourist motivation/meaning by pointing out that individual belief, or world view, would be the *"single most important criterion to distinguish pilgrims from tourists"* (:2). Within this criterion, Smith (1992), proposed a method of external measurement to delineate the pilgrim and tourist based upon social sanctions. According to Smith (1992), social approval is the most *"important factor in differentiating the activities of pilgrims and tourists"* (:2) [7]. Smith (1992) presents the continuum of pilgrim/tourists by manipulating the earlier work of Adler (1989), and others, who *"identify tourism and pilgrimage as opposite end-points on a continuum of travel"* (in Smith 1992: 3). According to Adler (1989) those polarised end points can be labelled as 1) sacred, and 2) secular. The complication in polarising the points on the Smith/Adler continuum is, in Smith's (1992) admission/opinion, because the model is *"only a momentary interpretation of present day thought, and the designations are by no means immutable"* (: 4). To return to Collins-Kreiner's (2010) earlier theory of limitless combinations, along the pilgrim/tourist continuum, the work of Pearce (1991) adds to the designations debate by claiming that the switch between points may occur, even without the individual being fully aware of the change.

The Smith (1992) conceptual model (Fig 2.1) presents a clearly delineated, process orientated continuum that focuses upon motivation and determinants as specific factors that enable individuals to undertake pilgrimage journeys; discretionary income, leisure time and social sanctions are necessary 'enabling' factors according to Smith (1992). Badone and Roseman (2004) present a view that is perhaps reminiscent of the earlier typological studies in tourism, when they claim that *"it is necessary to develop more refined definitions rather than to collapse the two concepts* (pilgrim and tourist) *in the broader one of traveller"* (: 10). Of course the bringing together of two concepts and claiming that they have resonance or applicability may be an impossible task – what can be claimed is that along Smith's (1992) continuum there are points of significance; especially if one considers those individuals that

are ‘technically’ vacationers who may have an interest in ‘religious tourism’. In reality it is likely that most visitors to pilgrim sites have multiple and diverse motives and therefore are, as Smith (1992) concedes, unlikely to have a fixed position. Santos (2003) supports this proposition by referring to Smith’s (1992) framework and stating that *“they...*pilgrims/tourists*...should not be perceived in purely dichotomic terms”* (:31). It is perhaps Stoddard (1996) who offers the most convincing support for Smith (1992).

Stoddard (1996) observed Smith’s (1992) framework and proposed a revised framework which brings together *“different types of traveller, secular tourist, religious tourist and pilgrim and their motives - profane or sacred, relating them to two categories of movement in space – recreational or religious (which he considers contiguous)”* (Santos 2003: 32) (Fig 2.2). The relevance of Stoddard’s (1996) framework is the inclusion of the third categorisation – the religious tourist – according to this one may posit that tourist activity has placed/places individuals of a non-religious persuasion in spaces that traditionally have religious connotations or relevance [8]. Santos (2003) in her study, which focuses on clarifying concepts in pilgrimage and tourism, also proposes a centre ground for the Smith (1992) framework which she refers to as ‘religious tourists’; a catch all rather imprecise term which according to Santos (2003) can be defined as *“those that engage in activities and behaviours situated half way between the pilgrim and tourist, bringing together aspects of the two types of experience”* (:32). Volozinskis (1991) points out that the transformations in ‘sacred space’ leads to alternative forms of interaction between touristic activity and formal religion; *“churches are emptied of worshippers while they are full the rest of the time with tourists, frequently non-Christians”* (: 76).

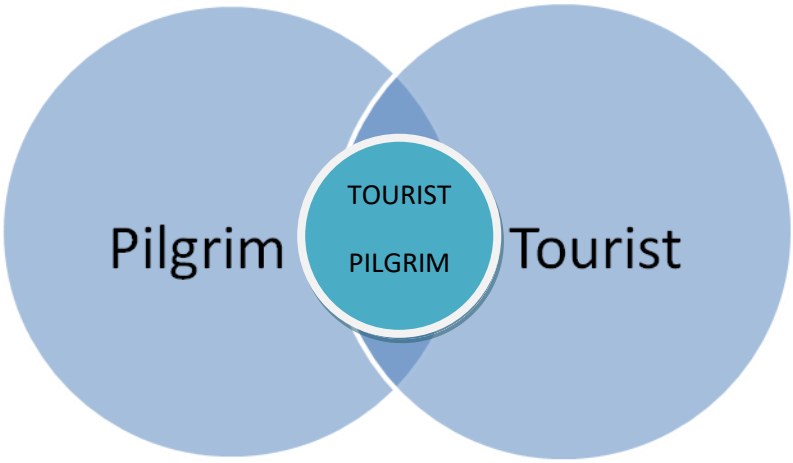
Fig 2.2 Motives, Type of Traveller and Categories of Displacement

Categories	**Travellers**	**Motives**
Recreational	**Secular Tourist**	**Profane**
	Religious Tourist	
Religious	**Pilgrim**	**Sacred**

Source: Stoddard (1996)

The work of Stoddard (1996) contributes to the disaggregation of pilgrims and tourists by presenting a transformational position which views religion and tourism as separated phenomena which has a central 'interacting' ground. If one is to promote the central ground theory, as contiguous or adjoining, then it may be posited that the 'interaction' point is where most individuals are situated. This theory concurs with the earlier work of Cohen (1974), which Santos (2003) views as a 'conceptual intersection'; this sees *"the pilgrim as a kind of part-time tourist; and religious-tourism combines elements of pilgrimage with those of ordinary tourism*" (:32). Santos (2003) presents a conceptual framework which utilises Cohen's (1974) theory and purports a central ground which is viewed as a 'soft form' of pilgrimage-religious-tourism; compared to the harder polarised points of pilgrimage and tourism – which is particularly resonant when one considers the itinerary driven nature of a) 'religious' pilgrimage, and b) mass tourism (Fig 2.3).

Fig 2.3 A Simplified Diagram of Traveller's Roles

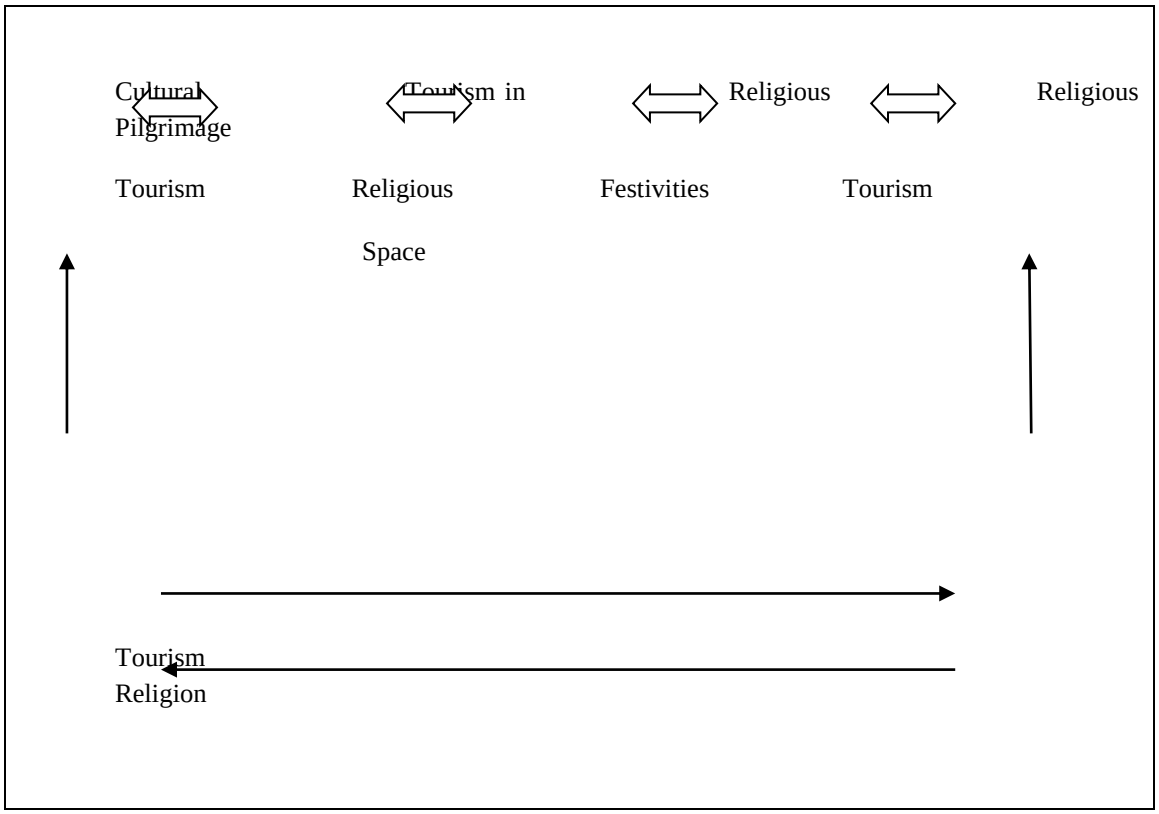


Source: Santos (2003): Adapted from Cohen (1974)

Figure 2.3 represents two well defined areas; the typical pilgrim and the typical tourist. The central ground of Santos's (2003) Venn framework supports the notion that both pilgrim and tourist will move between the specific polarised points into the central ground; according to Santos (2003) *"there may exist areas of overlap between each, in which certain functions of the journey may belong to more than one of the mentioned types, depending on whether they refer to a single or various dimensions"* (: 33). To return to the Smith (1992) framework it may be worth noting the conceptual differentiation framework presented by Santos (2003) (Fig 2.3), which proposes a counter-Smith notion of religious tourism as a 'form' of spiritual component, is *"welcomed and supported by the ecclesiastical hierarchy itself"* (: 36). This notion supports the claim that the religious tourist is also seeking the supernatural, and may be the participant in a much more complex continuum than first presented by Smith (1992). Figure 2.4 - diagram of the inter-relations between tourism and religion – considers the relationship between tourism and religion, not as conceptual opposites, but as co-existing phenomena. Santos (2003) attempts to avoid the black and white polarisations of religion and tourism - the former appearing as religious fundamentalist and the latter as an unrestrained hedonist – by creating a framework which supports interactions. Santos (2003) concludes her

study by suggesting that interactions between religion and tourism are not dichotomous, but will be dependent upon the intensity of motivation. For Santos (2003) the religious tourist is the central ground upon which all other classifications are gauged – thus *"religious tourism may be defined as all kinds of travel (voluntary, temporary and unpaid) that is motivated by religion in combination with other kinds of motivation, and which has as its destination a religious site of local, regional, national or international status, but for which the journey itself is not a religious practice"* (: 40).

Fig 2.4 Diagram of the Inter-relations between Tourism and Religion



Source: Santos (2003)

2.2.2 Competing discourses – Post 'Turnerian' anti-communitas – Order, power and conflict at Lourdes

Turner and Turner (1978) present an image of post-industrialist pilgrimage that is characterised by communitas [9]. The Turner's (1978) support this view by claiming that; *"In Lourdes there is a sense of living communitas, whether in the great signing processions by torchlight or in the agreeable little cafes of the back streets, where tourists and pilgrims gaily sip their wine and coffee. Something of Bernadette has tinctured the entire social milieu – a cheerful simplicity, a great depth of communion" (: 230)* [10].

Sallnow (1981) was perhaps the first to offer a counter-Turnerian perspective of pilgrimage that is anti-communitas; Sallnow (1981), using the example of the pilgrimage of the Quechua speaking Indians of the Andes in Peru, concludes that rather than communitas, what exists among pilgrims is *"a complex mosaic of egalitarianism, nepotism and factionalism, of*

brotherhood, competition and conflict" and that *"the concept of communitas is of little value in explaining the essentially divisive quality of Andean pilgrimage"* (Sallnow 1981: 176-177).

Eade (1992) uses the work of Morinis (1984) as an example to support Sallnow's (1981) view of communitas by challenging the *"fundamental psychological model of the pilgrimage experience in terms of flow; not only through the absence of communitas in many instances, but also on the basis of the importance of other facets of human character, such as the intellectual, social and spiritual"* (: 20). Eade (1992) while not totally dismissive of the Turnerian (1978) traditions of limen and communitas does advocate a Turnerian (1978) perspective that places 'communitas' as representative of one perspective or discourse of the pilgrims experience. This claim would suggest that one would need to ascertain other competing and alternative factors that contribute to the pilgrimage experience. As Sallnow (1991) points out, when individuals converge at pilgrimage centres, *"meanings collide"* (in Eade and Sallnow 1991: 137). It is perhaps the collision of meanings that is a clear indicator of the disparity between motive, meaning or understanding; on the contrary reveals Sallnow (1991) *"it is more likely to reveal severely discrepant or discordant understandings of the significance of the cult, even among those sharing the same faith"* (in Eade and Sallnow 1991: 137).

It was perhaps Eade (1991) who offered the most convincing case for anti-communitas at pilgrimage sites in his study of order and power at Lourdes. Eade (1991) commences his study by claiming that *"although Lourdes may appear superficially to be a highly organised shrine, where helpers, 'ordinary' pilgrims, and religious and medical specialists collaborate smoothly within an integrated structure, the contests at the primary interface between pilgrims and lay helpers reveal a range of contradictions...the most helpful, pre-analytic image to hold in mind is of a tangle of contradictions, a cluster of coincident opposites"* (in Eade and Sallnow 1991: 52). In contrast, if one returns to the Turnerian (1978) view of Lourdes then one may create an impression of a shrine that is dominated by community, togetherness and *"cheerful simplicity"* (: 230). Eade's (1991) account focuses on his personal experience as a Brancardier - or male lay helper at the baths - during twenty years involvement as a volunteer at Lourdes. The work of a Brancardier at Lourdes is predominantly concerned with accompanying sick pilgrims to and from the esplanade, grotto and baths as well as the management and control of pilgrims, both sick and general, when visiting or accompanying at the baths. Marnham (1980) introduces the notion of two types of Brancardiers: those travelling with a pilgrimage and those based at the shrine (Lourdes). For Marnham (1980) it is the second category which he believes are more significant; *"...it is those Brancardiers that place themselves at the disposal of the Hospitality for the length of their stay at Lourdes, for year after year; thereby acquiring many months of service and eventual promotion to the rank of medal holder..."* (: 112).

Eade (1991) describes a formal, structured and ordered view of the volunteer network at Lourdes that is dominated by, and comes under the strict control of, a central bureau, the Hospitality Council. Marnham (1980) presents an unobstructed view of the Hospitality by claiming it is an institution that is run on nominally democratic lines, *"that is to say by an elected council which elects its own president, but there would be no question of electing a*

president of whom the Bishop did not approve" (: 112). The control mechanisms at the shrine of Lourdes are dominated by discipline, with many critics arguing that *"Hospitallers have become obsessed with discipline and with the maintenance of a complex hierarchy of military-style levels of command"* (Eade 1991: 54) (see also Eade 1992: 23 *"...the intensely hierarchical and institutional character of voluntary work at Lourdes..."*). Full membership of the Hospitality is based on a series of 'stages' (stagiaires) awarded on contribution/works; a further reference to the militaristic hierarchies that determine whether a member is a bronze (auxiliary) member or a silver/full member (titulaires). According to Eade (1991) the military discipline is supposed to complement a religious discipline; *"while on duty stagiaires are formally required to pray when they are free to do so...they have to set an example...they must demonstrate their commitment to charity..."* (: 54). It is perhaps given that such high ideals are set for the volunteers of the Hospitality that further criticism is directed at the Central Bureau when Brancardiers indiscretions are publicised; which they frequently are (Eade 1991).

Eade's 1991 study presents an experiential snapshot of life at a pilgrimage shrine that can be characterised by hierarchy, power, order and structure. The focus of the Eade (1991) study is the 'baths' at Lourdes; a long single storey building that is housed adjacent to the Grotto/spring. The baths are divided into male and female sections entered via an outside 'holding area' which is controlled by a team of Brancardiers. According to Marnham (1980) the baths are usually a scene of *"frenzied activity"* (:92) [11]. Eade (1991) echo's Marnham's (1980) view of activity at the baths by claiming that all of the combined factors of queues/singing/chanting/praying make for a lively atmosphere. The hierarchy of visitation to the baths is strictly controlled, by groups of six or eight Brancardiers, and is mostly dependent upon levels of sickness, age and whether one has a station in the church i.e. Priest, nun etc. The baths at Lourdes are only open for four hours each day so the work of the Brancardier is to process as many pilgrims as they can through the baths in the limited daily time allowance. According to Eade (1991) it is at this point of contact, where Brancardiers are working under most pressure that points of conflict occur. Pilgrims visiting the baths are 'herded' into long queues which, on frequent occasions, do not make it in the allocated time; *"disappointed pilgrims denied access to the baths vent their anger on the Brancardiers...some might not be able to return, especially those who are visiting the shrine for a short time"* (Eade 1991: 56-57). For the pilgrims who are turned away the Brancardiers appear to be power-crazy, authoritarian figures that have ultimate control at the bathing area. The duties of the Brancardier are to make sure that the many rules designed by the Hospitality are obeyed; Eade (1991) presents several examples of broken rules creating an atmosphere which stimulates friction and conflict – 1) when the demarcation of space - particularly sacred and secular - is not obeyed, 2) respectful behaviour, 3) dress code; Brancardiers will not look favourably upon those dressed scantily, 4) those pilgrims who do not hold the correct documentation; in the case of Lourdes a sick card gains immediate entry to the baths, and 5) when the atmosphere becomes 'carnival like' with pilgrims singing, praying and chanting as they queue to enter the baths. What is interesting to note is the disparity in how the rules of the Hospitality are interpreted; for the pilgrim the sacredness of Lourdes is paramount – the rules and guidelines of the Hospitality however are seen as a

barrier which are a demarcation between the mass 'pilgrim' public and those who are the select few, such as the members of the Hospitality Council. Pilgrims however are *"not docile bodies subject to the control of others; they can and do resist the power of the organisers – within limits – in order to attain their own objectives"* (Eade 1991: 59).

Eade's (1991) study was perhaps a revolutionary step forward in the study of pilgrimage, especially if one considers the tension that is conveyed. Conversely, on entering the baths pilgrims are offered a – strangely – large amount of flexibility and freedom to shape their own practice. Of course at the point of bathing it would be almost impossible for the Brancardiers to impose a formulated, structured approach – especially when one considers that the bathing process at Lourdes has become a production line where the aim of the Hospitality is to process as many pilgrims in each session as is physically possible. As Eade (1991) points out, there needs to be awareness, amongst the Brancardiers, of the vulnerability of pilgrims in what is an emotional, sensitive and often life changing experience. The rituals at the baths, once 'absolute', have become more flexible to reflect the individuals need. Healing for example, while not a daily expectation at the baths, holds fast among pilgrims as something which is associated with Lourdes more than any other of the great European pilgrimages. As Eade (1991) reveals *"...some sick pilgrims movingly beg to be cured during the bathing, and their helpers join in their prayers for the alleviation of their illnesses..."* (:62). Marnham (1980) perhaps paints a different view of activity within the baths to Eade (1991) by claiming that *"...a cure would be the last thing that those working in the baths would expect. Indeed the continual prayers, the ordered routine, the steady pressure from those still un-bathed, seem designed to distract each supplicant in turn from the absence of his particular miracle..."* (: 94). Another, perhaps consequential shift in recent years at Lourdes has been the de-emphasis of the two female saints associated with the shrine. According to Eade (1991) recent practice at Lourdes has seen a change; from the veneration of Mary and Bernadette [12] *"towards the institutional authority of the church and the redemptive sacrifice of Christ*" (:63).

The Catholic authorities at Lourdes have, in recent years, attempted to promote the psychosomatic power of Lourdes rather than any specific 'water-based' miraculous healing properties that the water may have [13]. Of course one may draw comparisons with other pilgrimage sites at this crossroads; the River Ganges has, for example, long been associated with healing properties – especially when one considers that the water is as close as the Hindu religion comes to a tangible Deity. The ideological changes at Lourdes are reflective of changing expectations of both pilgrims and tourists and the advances of medical science; among the thousands of reported miraculous healings at Lourdes the Catholic Church currently only recognises sixty seven cures that are viewed as miraculous. Official understandings of miracles, healing and the sick have changed at Lourdes as the Medical Bureau de Lourdes, in response to increasing media scepticism, has produced guidelines which concern the different stages of recognising cures, and how one may classify such miraculous acts. The purpose of such an ideological shift has partly, as discussed, been in response to cynics; and secondly as a means of reducing the view of the water at Lourdes as 'magical'. This is a point which Eade (1991) picks up when referring to the work of Billet

and Lafourcade (1981) who claim that *"...the water is not magical; it is drinkable, chemically pure, similar to other springs at Lourdes, lacking in therapeutic or radioactive qualities. It sometimes heals but its role is primarily to remind us that we should turn also to Him who is the source of eternal life..."* (: 170) (Translated by Eade 1991: 64). To paraphrase the contemporary view of the Lourdes Medical Bureau ...to reduce Lourdes to miracle or no miracle, cure or no cure, trivialises the almost immeasurable and incalculable potential to make a difference on so many levels to so many individuals... it is possible to understand the re-positioning of the Catholic authorities. According to Eade (1991) *"what actually emerges is a continually shifting mix between the older, popular beliefs and behaviours and the newer, official ones, between what is now classed as 'superstition' and what the authorities deem to be religion proper"* (: 65).

Eade's (1991 & 1992) studies, far from supporting a view of Turnerian communitas, offer a glimpse of a major activity - taking the waters - at a major pilgrimage – Lourdes - that is characterised by conflict, power and order. If one was to persist with an outward expression that promotes simplicity, togetherness and community then perhaps one would also need to include Eade's (1991) internal criticism of the Hospitality Council and its most active members – the Brancardiers. Reports that present an image of Brancardiers as grumpy, theatrical, egotistical and self-important men who ...manhandle pilgrims into position - snap their fingers for attention or to show direction – who lack the time and the courtesy to answer simple requests – who lack patience and understanding of people of other nationalities... are a common feature in Eade's (1991) study (adapted from Eade 1991 & 1992). Communitas is perhaps an ideal that is restricted by a continual interplay of opposition between the Hospitality Council, the pilgrims and the wider visitor base; the tensions and conflicts at pilgrimage sites are perhaps only a more specific reflection of events that are continually being acted out – not practiced beforehand – live – and in front of a critical and expecting audience. It is the role of the Brancardiers to manage crowd hysteria, to control the emotions of the expectant pilgrims as they approach the point at which mass excitement at 'supposed' cures may erupt; as Eade (1991) points out *"the Brancardiers are employed by the officials to restore order by removing the individual who has disrupted the smooth flow of events..."* (: 73). Interestingly, and to return to an earlier point, Eade (1991) in concluding his study responds to the role of the Brancardier and makes the point that most pilgrims will however not want to take such a detached view of healing and cures – *"instead they react with enthusiasm and intense curiosity, since the event appears to validate both the prayers they have been uttering during the procession and the widespread belief in shrine-induced miracles"* (: 73).

The order, power and conflict which have been documented in this section may present an anti-Turnerian, anti-communitas shrine which is dependent upon order and orthodoxy, but there is good evidence here, if one discounts the Brancardiers and the Hospitality Council, to promote a pilgrim/tourist anti-authority 'solidarity' or 'communitas'. That said the structure, observance and ritual which is imposed by the Brancardiers limits the diversity of the individual pilgrim by encouraging and enforcing correct behaviour and imposing strict boundaries around sacred space and time. Lourdes is an example of a pilgrimage site that

curtails religious enthusiasm through internal hierarchical cult officialdom (Eade 1991). The reality of Lourdes is that even though the individual pilgrim has levels of flexibility and freedom (communitas) the balance of power is weighted more heavily towards the structured hierarchy of the Hospitality Council. As Eade (1991) points out *"although pilgrims can resist the power of Hospitallers, their victories are few and most do not even consider challenging official rules"* (: 75). What is evident at Lourdes is the combination of power, structure, discipline, freedom, community and communitas; a 'cluster of coincident opposites' (Eade 1991 & 1992) (Coleman and Eade 2004).

2.2.3 Pilgrimage as popular culture – Tourism takes centre stage

In the opening pages of Reader and Walter's (1993) text *Pilgrimage and Popular Culture* the authors liken Disneyland to a sacred place. While historically, sacred shrines of pilgrimage have been sites that have a religious base; it has become clear that contemporary post-modern 'experience' society has re-defined the definition of pilgrimage to include sites, events or simply people that can be deemed sacred (Badone and Roseman 2004). Although, in Western Europe, the majority of pilgrimage sites are predominantly of a religious composition it is evident (Reader and Walter 1993) that pilgrimage is not limited solely to explicitly religious cultures or traditions. Morinis (1992) makes the argument for the validity of secular pilgrimage by suggesting that *"secular journeys can fall within the boundaries of pilgrimage if made in pursuit of embodied ideals"* (in Badone and Roseman 2004: 161). The broader definition of pilgrimage as a heterogeneous, constructed and negotiated experience does move away from the theophanic associations that one may apply to the more restricted 'deity' form of religious pilgrimage. Morinis (1992) continues his support of secular pilgrimage by proposing that a pilgrimage can be *"any journey undertaken by a person in quest of a place or a state that he or she believes to embody a valued ideal"* (in Badone and Roseman 2004: 161). The implication that any journey, secular or religious, when undertaken for a sacred ideal, can be defined as pilgrimage offers a broader perspective in definitional terms: it is the *"pursuit of the ideal (whether deified or not) that defines the sacred journey"* (Badone and Roseman 2004: 161).

This chapter has already considered the traditional and contemporary definitions of pilgrimage (2.1.1) in which clear distinctions were drawn between ecclesiastical and secular perceptions of what constitutes 'pilgrimage'. It is perhaps the 'popular' perception of pilgrimage that has been the stimulus for the shift away from limiting the concept of pilgrimage solely to religious traditions. The earlier sections of this review identified Graburn's (1977 & 1983) claims that pilgrimage and tourism had become less differentiated. Graburn (1977) implied that tourism has become a modern, secularised form of pilgrimage...*"for traditional societies the rewards of pilgrimage were accumulated grace and moral leadership in the home community...the rewards of modern tourism are phrased in terms of values we now hold up for worship; mental and physical health, social status, and diverse, exotic experiences"* (: 24). Of course one could draw direct correlation at this point with the Turner and Turner (1978) thesis of separation, limen and return, especially if one is

to embrace the Turner's (1978) proclamation that *"a tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist"* (: 20). The Turner's (1978), in their study, rely on sites such as Canterbury Cathedral to illustrate some of the changes in how pilgrimage is practiced; Canterbury, claim the Turners (1978), has ceased to be a site of 'religious' pilgrimage, in the formal sense, since the time of Henry VIII. The *"streams of English visitors and foreign tourists (and many of them are closet pilgrims) who visit Canterbury Cathedral mainly to gaze on the reputed spot of St. Thomas a Becket's martyrdom, attest to the hardihood of the pilgrim spirit"* (: 20) (see Urry 1990)

While the earlier texts (Turner and Turner 1978; Marnham 1980; Nolan and Nolan 1989; Nooteboom 1989), in the study of pilgrimage, refer to the 'shift' in how pilgrimage practice is defined, the focus of these studies was predominantly centred on how religious sites have become dual use/space that is shared by pilgrims and tourists. Reader and Walter, in 1993, contested this traditional view and proposed a framework which extended the frontiers of pilgrimage, post 'Turnerian', to include secularized forms of experience (box 2.1); often individual and potentially allegorical or counter-meaning. Digance (2006) perhaps offers a clearer classification of secular pilgrims: *"...there are two groups of modern secular pilgrims; those who still claim traditional religion as meeting their spiritual needs but for whom the journey fulfils a deep personal meaning, and those who could loosely be grouped under the broad 'new age' banner"* (in Timothy and Olsen 2006: 37). Digance (2006) puts forward a proposition that 'new ageism' is concerned with the inner self, an emphasis on the experiential and inner spirituality. One may however posit that the philosophy of the new age has been subsumed into contemporised secularized pilgrimage experiences. As Digance (2006) proclaims, in today's consumer society religion is just another marketable commodity or meaning system. If one is to take Digance's (2006) claims literally then one could adopt a position that places tourism at the centre of Solomon's (1999) 'spiritual promiscuity' or 'new ageism'. It is perhaps ironic that the major 'contemporary' shift in the study of pilgrimage, from the objective to the subjective, is perhaps a consequence of the 'touristification' of pilgrimage and a new secular movement which views pilgrimage beyond the traditional religious and objective parameters so jealously guarded by ecclesiastical authorities.

Box 2.1 The use of religious terminology in contemporary secular pilgrimage

Alexander Moore has argued that Walt Disney World in Florida serves as a kind of pilgrimage centre for contemporary Americans (1980: 207-17). The Japanese writer Notoji Masako (1990) has developed the theme of Disneyland as a shrine, especially for white middle-class America, in her book Dizunirando to iu seichi (a title that translates as The Sacred Place Called Disneyland). Notoji describes the journey made to Disneyland by a young New York brother and sister, who had begged their parents to take them from New York to the California Disneyland, as a 'pilgrimage to California' (: 137), and the descriptions she gives of how they prepared for the trip, the rising expectations they felt as the departure grew nearer, the exhilaration they felt on arrival, and the vivid memories they had afterwards, all display the extraordinarily powerful meanings that the visit had for them. For such youths brought up in an

American culture centred in television and the movies, Notoji comments, Disneyland, has been 'transformed from simply being an amusement park and a tourist spot, into a sacred place' (: 141).

Alison Lockwood, discussing the travels of Americans to Britain seeking their cultural roots and paying homage at such 'cultural shrines' (1981: 57) as Lord Byron's grave, Oxford, Cambridge, York, Edinburgh and Loch Lomond uses the title 'passionate pilgrim' to describe her subjects. The reverence and implicit religiosity which some of these travellers brought with them is shown in how they react to the sites. Reflecting, perhaps, the latent tensions that can occur between tourists and pilgrims, one literary pilgrim, Benjamin Moran, is disturbed by the frivolous behaviour of a group of English tourists at Lord Byron's grave; later, though, his mood is improved by the young woman working there, who informs him how many American visitors would tearfully recite poetry at the grave. Then Lockwood notes, 'as a relic or memento of his pilgrimage Moran was given a piece of oak left over when repairs were made to the pews not long before' (: 65).

Of course contemporary populist pilgrimage is not restricted to Disney or Byron. The sudden death of Elvis Presley in 1977 witnessed an outpouring of public emotion that manifested in tens of thousands of fans converging on the Presley estate (Graceland) in Memphis, Tennessee (Reader and Walter 1993). Such was the feeling of loss among Presley's fans that often the motivation for travelling the thousands of miles to Graceland was simply because one felt one 'had' to make a pilgrimage (King 1993 in Reader and Walter 1993: 93). The route to Graceland, across large areas of rural Mid America, resembles the religious route based pilgrimages of Mecca and Santiago with emblazoned signs pushing the pilgrim ever closer to the home and grave of Elvis Presley. The veneration of Presley developed with pace following his death with thousands of adoring fans gathered at the gates of his home; Graceland. Many commentators likened Presley to the 'Messiah', a direct link to Christ in the Christian dogma. King (1993) conceptualises the devotion to Elvis by likening the reaction to his death with the death of Christ. An English fan interviewed at the time of the death of Presley proclaimed *"I believe in him…I am dedicated to the man…"* (King 1993 in Reader and Walter 1993: 96). It has even been claimed that Presley's fans continue to congregate at his graveside to offer prayers both for and to him (www.elvis.com). Elvis is unique in popular music culture as an artist that transcends his music and appeals in a way which fundamentally differs from all other musical artists. Elvis fans see themselves as 'true believers'; he fills their whole lives and as such being close to Elvis relics, such as Graceland, extends their devotion and gratification.

The Elvis Presley phenomenon is truly remarkable yet it exists on a number of interrelated levels. Of course one could quite easily make comparisons with medieval European pilgrimages that have commercial as well as devotional connotations. Commercialism does not however invalidate devotion or the intrinsic desire to get closer to ones spiritual meaning. King (1993) deconstructs the enigma of Presley's popularity by suggesting that he was, and is, Christ-like, to his followers. As one fan

commented *"when I feel exhausted I listen to an Elvis record and he brings me back to life",* another fan commented on attending an Elvis Presley concert, *"I felt in the presence of God, there was an aura about him"* (King 1993 in Reader and Walter 1993: 101). The death of Elvis Presley has enabled his fans to get closer, both spiritually and physically, by making the pilgrimage to Graceland as one would to any of the European medieval pilgrimage sites containing relics, associations or claims of apparitions by Jesus, Mary or any of the saints.

Source: Adapted from Reader and Walter (1993)

Part two has captured three stages in the transformational phase of pilgrimage and tourism literature i.e. from the objective to the subjective. It is difficult to suggest that each of the three stages stand in isolation; especially when one considers that the act of pilgrimage is not a contemporary invention or phenomenon. What part two offers is a continuum of events that marks pilgrimage as a complex multi-layered act which is driven by institutionalised control, hierarchical power, order and tourism marketing; and yet it is intensely personal, subjective and subject to a limitless number of interpretations. While it may be argued that Smith (1992), Stoddard (1996), Santos (2003) and others offer an over-simplistic view of pilgrimage, it is worth noting that these early proponents of the pilgrim/tourist continuum support the sacred-secular combinations which one can also evidence in the work of Reader and Walter (1993) in their study of secular 'touristic' pilgrimage. Part two develops a platform for the contemporary study of pilgrimage and tourism (part three); a study that is dominated by the personal, individual, inner search for meaning.

2.3 Part Three - Pilgrimage and Religious Tourism - Transformations – The Subjective View

2.3.1 The contemporisation of pilgrimage – Tourism meets the spiritual - A post-modern phenomenon

"Only recently have researchers started to examine the effect of visits on visitors in a more specific manner" (Collins-Kreiner 2010: 9).

"What surrounds the shrines and how it affects both the shrine's status and visitor's experience has usually gone largely understudied, if not ignored" (Dora 2012: 952).

The study of pilgrimage has in recent years seen a shift towards post-modernism and the search for inner spirituality, inner meaning and subjective experiences (Dora 2012). Collins-Kreiner (2010) was perhaps the first to present a comprehensive study of pilgrimage which challenges the pre-existing theories of objectivity. If one is to posit that pilgrimage has been caught in a post-modernistic wave of new theory then it may also be the case that post-modernity, as a concept, may only be a different lens with which to view the act of pilgrimage. Collins-Kreiner (2010) makes the case for current academic studies and suggests that the *"trends of deconstruction or of breaking down existing theories, the prevalent tendency to emphasise the subjective over the objective, and the increasing attention paid to individual experience are all consistent with the new post-modern approach to pilgrimage*

research" (: 3). Collins-Kreiner's (2010) study is built upon the earlier work of Reader and Walter (1993), Badone and Roseman (2004), and others, who respectively introduced the notion of pilgrimage as not exclusively 'religious'. Badone and Roseman's (2004) study presents an alternative view of the pilgrim-touristic framework that is at the forefront of post-modern religious tourism debates over, movement and centres, global flows, social identities, and the negotiation of meanings. This study has already documented the work of Reader and Walter (1993), but it is worth noting that the secularized forms of pilgrimage documented in their study are perhaps only a glimpse of the fuller scope of post-modern pilgrimage. The growth in alternative secular forms of pilgrimage, for example, has been unprecedented in recent years; fuelled by a tourism industry that has become driven by the personal and individual desire for experiential activities linked to life, the past and spirituality (Tribe 2009; Timothy and Olsen 2006; MacCannell 2001) (see also Lowenthal 1998 for a wider discussion).

MacCannell (2001) points to a heritage tourism industry, which includes religious attractions, that has become a metaphorical tourist bubble; a series of attractions that serve as a focus for town planners, mayors and tourism officials in their portfolio of visitor attractions. One can draw parallels with Collins-Kreiner's (2010) claim, that supports a diversification of attractions, at this point, which views alternative touristic pilgrimage sites as requiring fuller attention (see Reader and Walter 1993); such as celebrity graves and homes, war memorials and graves, secular shrines, sports activities and dark tourism experiences (visiting sites associated with death, disaster and the macabre – see Stone 2012; Lennon & Foley 2000). Equally one may draw on contemporary 'spiritual' pilgrimage that is marked by both religious and secular notions of the healing miraculous power of sites, such as Glastonbury in south west England, as an example of the changing perception of what constitutes pilgrimage. This form of pilgrimage has been discussed in section two of this chapter (Digance 2006) but it is also worth noting the growing use of contemporary narratives which identify 'roadside memorials' as a form of contemporary hybrid pilgrimage – in definitional terms this would be difficult to dispute given that a) people will visit the site for remembrance or spiritual purposes, and b) people will visit the site for viewing or touristic purposes (MacConville 2006; Hartig and Dunn 1998).

Shackley's (2001) typology of sacred sites (Fig 2.5) attempts to broaden the contemporary spectrum of 'religious' shrines in Western Europe by classifying a typology that facilitates a wider debate on the classification of pilgrim centres. Shackley's (2001) typology goes some way in encompassing, and specifying, the disparate features of pilgrimage. The Shackley (2001) typology identifies various elements with which one may classify between sites/shrines and thus the motives for visiting each category. If one is to take the work of Colins-Kreiner (2010) seriously then one would also need to add the secularized and spiritualised definitions of pilgrimage, already discussed in this chapter, to this list. What is appealing, with Shackley's (2001) typology, is the inclusion of the person, the place and the functions that have stimulated alternative forms of hybrid-touristic pilgrimages; especially number 9 of Fig 2.5 - see Stone 2012; Lennon & Foley 2000. While classification helps it does not reveal the more specific, subjective 'individual' factors that Collins-Kreiner (2010)

refers to. Shackley (2001), however, is not the first person to attempt to classify/type pilgrimage sites based upon a specific factor motive and meaning approach (see Park 1994)

Fig 2.5 Typology of Sacred Sites

1. places sanctified by events in the life of a prophet, saint or deity;
2. sites of miracles and healing;
3. places where apparitions or visions occur;
4. locations dedicated to special religious rituals;
5. tombs of saints/prophets/founders;
6. shrines of a miraculous statue, icon or relic;
7. the ancestral or mythical homes of the gods;
8. locations that manifest the energy or mystical power of nature;
9. places associated with great evil that have become a focus for remembrance.

Source: Shackley 2001

Shackley's (2001) typology does however have resonance, at this point in the study, when one considers that the typological setting of shrines points to a system which supports the marker [14]. This is an important point in this study as the contemporary study of 'subjective pilgrimage' has to, if it is to offer a credible alternative, take into account the role of the marker; to quote MacCannell (1976) *"...usually, the first contact a sightseer has with a sight is not the sight itself but with some representation thereof"* (: 110). Subjective meaning, in MacCannell's (1976) world is restricted to our impression, perception and view of what we are experiencing. The visitor to Lourdes, for example, may then be restricted by symbolic markers that are simulacra of reality; marker involvement makes it necessary for the visitor to construct meaning based on partial fact and well-known representations (see Gesler 1996). MacCannell's (1976) thesis may be a distant distraction from the immediate study of subjective meaning in pilgrimage activity but it does offer a counter-theory that perhaps determines what one sees and how one perceives, interprets and judges ones experience – all elements that one could argue contribute to subjectivity. As MacCannell (1976) points out *"tourists...have been criticised for failing, somehow, to see the sights they visit, exchanging perception for mere recognition"* (: 121). The sacralisation of sites is however not immediate; social spaces like all places that take on a religious/spiritual meaning undergo a *"sequential process by which tourism attractions are marked as meaningful, quasi-religious shrines"* (: 5). It is the application of subjective construction, even when marker controlled, that ultimately will give such sites their status, appeal and more general meaning.

To return to the opening paragraph of this sub-section, and specifically the Collins-Kreiner (2010) study, it has been posited that current research stresses *"the importance of what the pilgrims themselves say about their pilgrimage, since they constitute its main component"* (: 9). Collins-Kreiner (2010) presents her defence of this position by reflecting upon earlier studies (Badone and Roseman 2004; Ebron 1999; Frey 1998; Reader and Walter 1993) which would appear to support the increasing ethnographic/anthropological research which is aimed at finding out what pilgrimage means to individuals. As Collins-Kreiner (2010) remonstrates,

"as a result of this perception, it is now clear that each person may interpret his or her own experience differently, and that it is no longer sufficient to focus solely on the experience offered by the objective...in this way, current pilgrimage research emphasises subjectivity" (: 9). This view can also be evidenced in the wider study of tourism philosophies; Riley and Love (2000), for example, record the shifting paradigms in tourism research; in which they record a gradual change, through the 1990s, in the research philosophies and methodologies of tourism studies. According to Riley and Love (2000), the traditional, and dominant, quantitative methodologies that had been used to measure visitor flow and movement were being replaced in the latter half of the 1990s by a qualitative resurgence that focused on; a) the visitor experience, b) what that experience meant, and c) how that experience may influence future decisions [15].

2.3.2 Philosophical issues in pilgrimage and tourism - Intersecting journeys – A route to subjectivity

Collins-Kreiner (2010) offers an alternative philosophical position to the objectivity of pilgrimage/tourism by claiming that current approaches and interpretations yield to a 'both-and' approach rather than the traditional right/wrong, truth/falsehood approaches. The contemporary approach to studying pilgrimage is more concerned with subjective interpretations; pilgrimage and tourism are not replicable concepts, they are products of culture, socio-spiritual norms and religious structures (Dora 2012; Collins-Kreiner 2010; Badone and Roseman 2004). Of course one could argue that the post-modernism world in which pilgrimage and tourism is now rooted has stimulated feelings of dislocation and rootlessness. As Timothy and Olsen (2006) point out *"religion is being seen more as a privatised and pluralised experience where the spiritual and the religious are separate...where experimenting with the mixing of various religious traditions is seen as accepted and encouraged"* (: 4). Timothy and Olsen's (2006) claims have resonance with the typical post-modern philosophy of rejecting existing theory, theology and philosophy and present instead a bastardised version of spirituality which exists outside of any formal religious belief systems. In other words, according to Timothy and Olsen (2006), *"spirituality (contemporary) is an individual experience that is outside preconstituted discourses of meaning"* (: 4). Dora (2012) considers the post-modern subjectivity debate from a practical philosophical position by directly including the example of tourist journeys. According to Dora (2012) *"no matter where; tourist journeys are akin to pilgrimage because they represent the non-ordinary and sacred interludes which make life worth living"* (: 958). (see Andriotis 2009 & 2011)

The fact that post-modernism has been identified as a major contributory factor in the study of tourism and pilgrimage may have a number of consequences. Singh and Singh (2009) ask whether *"a synthesis between spirituality and tourism is possible or is it just a philosopher's utopia"* (: 135). The reality may be that both phenomena, tourism and pilgrimage, while not completely homogenous offer a complex, diverse range of subjective combinations that in terms of measurement present an immediate stumbling block. While Smith (1992) purposefully arranges pilgrims and tourists along her continuum/typology there is no opportunity to view the visitors, their stories or importantly the effect of the visit on the

visitors themselves. Direct tourism literature, according to Dora (2012), typically pays attention to the site, the local community and the movement/flow of visitors but does not consider the effect of the visit on the tourist. Collins-Kreiner (2010) advocates an alternative scale which measures how pilgrims/tourists are affected by their visit; pre-visit, during the visit and post-visit, and importantly *"to what extent they were affected after their return home, regardless of their initial classification as tourist or pilgrim"* (: 12) [16]. According to Dora (2012) the traditional objective expression of pilgrimage has been through the focus of the place and on their ontological power or spiritual magnetism. Dora (2012) posits that there is a contemporary fascination however in the articulation of individual space through movement and social practices. Andriotis (2011) concurs with this theorisation when he claims that *"from the perspective of the components of religious heritage or pilgrimage landscapes, sacred sites can be seen as the product of multiple discourses"* (: 1628).

Interestingly Collins-Kreiner's (2010) support for the new subjective paradigms in the study of pilgrimage and tourism, with the interconnectedness of pilgrims and tourists as central components, does pose specific paradigmatic concerns. The onset of post-modernism does not automatically render previous theory as useless or inactive. The objective traditions in pilgrimage tourism research have not been abandoned quite yet. Even Collins-Kreiner (2010) advocates the view that *"the transition from modern to post-modern theory is still understood as an expansion, and not a contradiction of existing theory...the transformation is not as sharp and dramatic as some researchers would like to think"* (: 14). This would certainly be the case if one was to examine the proliferation of religious literature distributed at pilgrim shrines; such as the Lourdes Pilgrims Handbook and the Lourdes Magazine – two publications which have a wide circulation among pilgrims and which emphasise the importance/significance of the objective shrine.

Current theoretical paradigms, in the study of pilgrimage and tourism, support the influence of post-modernity, contemporary spirituality and alternative forms of religious activity as major contributors to the changing patterns of individual engagement with the act of pilgrimage. This section has already posited a shift in the focus of how pilgrimage/touristic activity are approached - philosophically (see Riley and Love 2000). The section has also posited how the experience of pilgrimage, to what extent pilgrims were affected before, during and following their visit, has become the focus for academics, practitioners and individuals. The important point in the transition from objective theory to subjective theory is the admission that the onset of post-modernity does not render existing theory as useless or, importantly, inactive. The new paradigm of subjectivity can be viewed as an alternative lens which offers a filtered view of the individual, the inner meaning and the personal narrative of construction.

2.4 Chapter Conclusion

It would be over-simplistic and naive to suggest that there has been a clear and measurable shift from objective theory to subjective theory in the study of pilgrim-touristic behaviour. The early proponents of objective theory support the proposition that the shrine is the centre of the visitor journey as places of symbolism, ontological power and spiritual magnetism.

Removing the shrine from the visitor experience is of course impossible. The shrine is the tangible expression of the hierophanic/theophanic event – a focus for the connection between humanity and spirituality. What this chapter has demonstrated is how individuals connect with the act of pilgrimage, and how that act has been viewed. One could infer that the shift in pilgrimage theory is simply a reflection of other anthropogenic and societal change factors influenced by time, post-modernity and demographical/socio-spiritual factors. This is a big claim considering the origins and socio-demographic history of the act of pilgrimage; which can be traced back several millennia.

To suggest that the past forty years have witnessed the most significant change in pilgrimage may also be over-simplistic and naive. Even when one takes into account the onset of post-modernity one cannot exclude the mechanisms of pilgrimage which a) date back many millennia, and b) continue to be central acts in the process of pilgrimage today; such as the Eucharist, the Liturgy and the act of Penance. The focus of contemporary academic research, in pilgrim-touristic studies, concentrates on how each person may interpret their own experience...an experience that Timothy and Olsen (2006) consider increasingly privatised and pluralised. The application of Timothy and Olsen's (2006) claim may in fact be an alternative lens with which to view the complete act of pilgrimage, implicating that individualism and pluralisation may have always been evident in the act of pilgrimage but that it is only recently that researchers have warranted the subject worthy of investigation.

This chapter provides a theoretical timeline of how pilgrimage has become part of the consciousness of society. As formal religion continues to decline it is perhaps the subjective meaning at pilgrimage shrines that manifests individual engagement. Each section of this literature review has attempted to place the act of pilgrimage in a metaphorical 'pigeon-hole'. By segregating pilgrimage activity one can make a claim of paradigmatic change but equally there is evidence in this literature review of consistency of theoretical development. The act of pilgrimage, according to Smith (1992), is a diverse spectrum of motivations which are interchangeable, interconnected and interrelated. Of course Smith's (1992) claim may lead one to believe that that the switch between points may occur, even without the individual being fully aware of the change. What Smith's (1992) point also suggests is pilgrimage is a highly complex, negotiated experience which is multi-faceted, fluid and highly visible – as well as private, individual and highly personalised.

Notes

1. This ideal might suggest a double journey when considering medieval pilgrimage; a physical, external journey, and an internal spiritual process of self-discovery or renewal or healing (Keil 2003). The idea of pilgrimage in the medieval mindset was twofold; the remission of sins and the acquisition of a kind of spiritual capital with which to purchase or buy off time spent in purgatory. The act of pilgrimage, whether for the remission of sins or a physical cure, is based on the idea that prayers for the intercession of a saint are more effective, as a channelling process to God, in a locality *"closely associated with a saint and preferably in the immediate vicinity of relics"* (Keil 2003: 1). The focus of locality (or site), while not fully reflective of all pilgrimages, is however the central component in the traditional approach to defining pilgrimage (Park 1994).
2. The most widely accepted definition of tourism is that given by the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) *"...the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for more than one consecutive year for leisure, business or other purposes".* The

WTO definition is the most useful in the study of religious tourism and pilgrimage as it contains no restricting reference to the purpose of the journey – it includes 'other purposes' (adapted from Beech and Chadwick 2006 & Cooper et al 2008). An interesting inclusion at this point would be Badone and Roseman's (2004) insistence that tourism and pilgrimage can be 'artificially' linked when one considers Smith's (1992) definition of the word 'tourist'; a word derived from the Latin 'tornus' which refers to *"someone who makes a circuitous journey – usually for pleasure – and returns to the starting point"* (:1)

3. *Rites of Passage* – An important category of ritual, which Arnold van Gennep first isolated and named (1908); rites of passage are the transitional rituals accompanying changes of place, state, social position, and age in culture. They have a basically tripartite processual structure, consisting of three phases: separation, margin or limen, and reaggregation. The first phase detaches the ritual subjects from their old places in society; the last installs them, inwardly transformed and outwardly changed, in a new place in society.
4. The classification of pilgrim/tourists is still a commonly used method for the marketing segmentation of visitors to pilgrimage sites (especially the larger sites that attract in excess of 100,000 visitors). Segmentation is dependent upon motive or purchase category i.e. how the purchase was made – whether it was made through a high street operator or the more specialist 'religious' operator (e.g. Mancunia Pilgrimage Tours Manchester).
5. The Nolan and Nolan (1989) study refers to three categories of shrines and their specific relationship with tourists; i) general pilgrimage shrines which range from those with high tourist value, which may include colourful events, to those which have little touristic value, such as sites which only cater for religious activity, ii) religious tourist attractions – sites which are visited by tourists, recreationists and pilgrims en route to major shrines...mostly of touristic value, and iii) sites of religious festivals – religious festivals and processions that predominantly are participated in by pilgrims but equally are viewed by tourists as part of an itinerary.
6. Encounters – in this context – refers to highly personalised experiences. What is interesting to note however, is Smith's (1992) insistence that the *"sacred is not necessarily solemn or restricted to the pilgrim...tourist encounters, (according to Smith), can be just as compelling"* (:2).
7. Smith (1992) offers two examples to illustrate how social approval differentiates the activities of pilgrims and tourists. *"Devout Tibetans who prostrate themselves on the pilgrimage path to the temple are admired locally for their piety. In contrast, present-day tourists visiting the tomb of teen-age idol – Elvis Presley – who prostrated themselves along the paths of Graceland, his Tennessee home, would be highly suspect".* (:2).
8. Examples would include Santiago de Compostela; the pilgrimage trail leading to Santiago has developed, from its original purpose as a religious route carrying pilgrims to the shrine of St James, to a cultural heritage route. Table 2.2 reveals that only 9.02% of participants sampled on the 'Route de Camino' were doing so for purely religious/spiritual/faith reasons.
9. **Communitas** – a relational quality of full unmediated communication, even communion with other individuals, which combines the qualities of lowliness, sacredness, homogeneity, and comradeship; Turner & Turner (1978) *"social antistructure – a relational quality of full unmediated communication, even communion, between definite and determinate identities, which arises spontaneously in all kinds of groups, situations, and circumstances. It is a liminal phenomenon which combines the qualities of lowliness, sacredness, homogeneity, and comradeship. The distinction between structure and communitas is not the same as that between secular and sacred; communitas is an essential and generic human bond".*
10. The concept of communitas can be evidenced in the early work of Zola (1890). *"...The feature of the place which more particularly struck you, as you crossed the threshold, was the childish gaiety which reigned there.; for packed together at the tables, were a hundred and fifty hospitallers of all ages, eating with splendid appetites, laughing, applauding, and singing with their mouths full. A wondrous fraternity united these men, who had flocked to Lourdes from every province of France, and who belonged to all classes and represented every degree of fortune. Many of them knew nothing of each one another, save that they met here and elbowed one another during three days every year, living together like brothers, and then going off and remaining in absolute ignorance of each other during the rest of the twelve months. Nothing could be more charming however, than to meet again at the next pilgrimage, united in the same charitable work, and to spend a few days of hard labour and boyish delight in common once more; for it all became, as it were, an 'outing' of a number of big fellows, let loose under a lovely sky, and well pleased to be able to enjoy themselves and laugh together"*
11. Marnham (1980) paints a colourful picture of the daily procession to the baths at Lourdes; *"...by moving them to the far side the chaplains have ensured that all those who come to bathe have to*

pass the Grotto...and the blaze of candles and the silent, devout crowds are an inspiring prelude to the sick person's chief moment of hope...as he approaches, he might hear Marian hymns sung at a mass for American pilgrims at the Grotto, mingling with a distant Salve Regina chanted by a group of Germans at the short Stations of the Cross, leading to a crescendo of noise just outside the baths where the amplified voice of an Italian friar leads the sick pilgrims waiting their turn to bathe..." (:92).

12. It is interesting to note that at Lourdes, a shrine centred on two female saints (Our Lady the Virgin Mary and St Bernadette of Lourdes), that the power structures are dominated by the 'male' Brancardiers. This is compounded by the fact that over 70% of pilgrims that 'take the waters' at Lourdes are female.
13. *"In their own defence the council of Lourdes can point out that Aquero (Mary) never said anything about bathing. The bathing just came naturally to the people of Bigorre; all the vision said was 'drink the water and wash in it...in future it may be that bathing will be presented as something which only the sick require; and the healthy, who form the vast majority of pilgrims, will confine themselves to using taps for washing and for filing their bottles...this separation of sick and healthy would...make it possible for each of them to spend more time at the ritual of bathing"* (Marnham 1980: 119).
14. Marker; in this context ecclesiastical authority or tourism operator.
15. According to Collins-Kreiner (2010) *"tourism literature focuses most of its attention on tourism's affect on the local population and extremely little on its effect on the visitors themselves."* Only recently *"have researchers started to examine the effect of visits on the visitors in a more specific manner"* (: 9). (see Maoz 2006; Poria, Biran and Reichel 2006).
16. Collins-Kreiner (2010) suggests three levels of change that should be considered; external characteristics, perceptions and attitudes. For example – *"a change on the first level will be evident in visitors' external features, such as language, clothing, hairstyle and jewellery. Changes on the level of perceptions, or visitors' outlook on life, beliefs and behaviour, may begin to emerge as they adopt new concepts from the place visited and the local population they met there. Changes on the third level involve a psychological change or a change in attitude"* (: 13).

Chapter 3 – Methodology

If I did not somewhat fear the reproach of exaggeration, I would say that in the twentieth century ethnography will be the foundation on which a new philosophical conception of humanity will be built.

(Arnold van Gennep 1960)

In qualitative research, the absence of precise definitions can often be a virtue rather than a vice.

(Garrod and Fyall 2000)

3.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to describe and justify the philosophical and methodological approaches and methods used in this study. The structure of the chapter moves from the general to the specific. The chapter will be set out in four parts; *part one* reminds us of the research question and objectives as well as providing an overview of the research framework/strategy and methods used in this study. *Part two* will describe, consider and justify the philosophical and methodological perspectives adopted in this study. In *Part three* the methods of data collection and data analysis will be defined, explained and justified. *Part four* draws the chapter to a conclusion by considering the practical and ethical issues as they relate to this study.

3.1 Part One – Study Overview

3.1.1 The research question and objectives revisited

Since introducing the research question and objectives in chapter one this thesis has considered the theoretical frames and development in the literature. It is therefore an appropriate point to remind ourselves at the outset of this chapter of the research question and objectives of this study.

The research question is;

- What factors influence the construction of individuals' subjective meaning when visiting pilgrimage shrines?

The objectives of the study are;

- To examine the relationship between pilgrim, tourist and marker at Lourdes;
- To determine the markers role in framing individual space at Lourdes;
- To evaluate the interrelating factors that contribute to the personal construction of meaning at Lourdes.
- To consider how one may apply the outcomes of this study to the practice of visiting Lourdes.

3.1.2 An overview of the research approach

This section will present a summary of the research design. The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of the philosophical, methodological and data collection and analysis approaches/techniques so that the reader has an appreciation of the overall project prior to the more detailed philosophical and methodological discussion and justification.

The philosophical and methodological position

The epistemological (acceptable knowledge) position of this study is grounded in the philosophy of interpretivism. Interpretivism is a term given to a contrasting epistemological position to the traditional philosophies of positivism and the study of science and the scientific model. Interpretivists share a view that the subject disciplines and matter of the social sciences – people and their actions – are philosophically different from the scientific model and the natural sciences. According to Bryman and Bell (2007) *"the study of the social world requires a different logic of research procedure, one that reflects the distinctiveness of humans as against the natural order"* (: 17). The philosophical principles, procedures and ethos of the interpretivist respect the difference between people and objects and therefore, according to Bryman and Bell (2007), "*require the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social actions"* (: 19). The ontological (nature of social entities - how we perceive the world and thus the nature of reality) position of this study is broadly constructionist which would imply that social properties/actions are the outcome of the *"interactions between individuals, rather than phenomena 'out there' and separate from those involved in its construction"* (: 402). The methodological position of this study is qualitative adopting an inductive view of the *"relationship between theory and research, the former is generated out of the latter"* (Bryman and Bell 2007: 402).

Data collection method

The data collection consisted of convenience sample pilot interviews followed by conversational interviews as part of a larger micro-ethnographic study.

The convenience interviews were undertaken to explore key themes of relevance to the literature and research questions and to allow other themes to emerge. The interviews were random and took place over four days with pilgrims and tourists at the Grotto/baths and Cafe/bars at Lourdes.

The main method of data collection selected for this study was micro-ethnographic conversational interviews. Micro-ethnography is an accepted (Fetterman 2010; Saunders et al 2009; Bryman and Bell 2007; Kutsche 1998) methodology that facilitates shorter periods of time spent among research groups in an attempt to achieve a more closely defined cultural understanding. Micro-ethnography is most commonly used in two settings; 1) where a full scale longitudinal ethnographic study is not feasible – due to time/finance/other resources, and 2) where the cultural setting is temporal and time-and context-bound – such as a touristic or pilgrimage setting – the setting for this study was an eight day diocesan pilgrimage to Lourdes in France.

Data analysis and presentation

The analysis of the data was conducted using the thematic analysis technique (see Crowther 2010; Braun and Clarke 2006; Bryman and Bell 2007; Gill and Johnson 2005; Denzin and Lincoln 1998). The findings are presented using direct quotations from the themes which emerged from the thematic analysis interspersed with the author's interpretations.

3.2 Part Two – The Philosophical and Methodological Underpinning of the Thesis

3.2.1 Knowledge accumulation - The building blocks of philosophy - From positivism to interpretivism

This section introduces the philosophical and theoretical perspective adopted to make sense of this study. According to Guba (1990) a philosophical paradigm is a set of beliefs that will guide our actions – whether of societal focus or action taken in connection with a disciplined inquiry. The purpose of this section is to firstly examine Guba's (1990) alternative paradigms (Table 3.1) and secondly to explore the consequences of epistemological/ontological/methodological positioning for pilgrim-touristic studies. According to Tribe (1997) the importance of epistemology/ontology for tourism/religious-tourism is two-fold...*"firstly it promotes a systematic review of what is legitimate knowledge, and secondly, the map or the philosophical boundaries of tourism/pilgrimage studies are still not fully agreed on"* (: 639). Importantly Tribe (1997) sets a clear marker for the study of pilgrim-touristic behaviour when he claims that tourism, and thus the accumulation of knowledge, is essentially an activity *"engaged in human beings...tourism is a phenomenon in and of the external world"* (: 640). If one considers Guba's (1990) alternative paradigms then one might pose several questions concerning the accumulation and construction of knowledge within and across an objective/subjective continuum. What can be posited from Guba (1990) however is that the construction of knowledge is an accumulation; a means of getting closer to the truth and therefore dependent upon whose truth is being portrayed and, importantly for the research question in this study, whether that truth is;

- Subjective (your own view)
- Relative (your view compared to others)
- Objective (taking a distant perspective)
- Absolute (as in philosophical arguments)

(Grbich 2012)

Easterby-Smith et al (2002) are clear in their assessment of why an understanding of philosophical issues is critical to the outcome of a research project: *"1) because it helps clarify research designs…and how this will provide good answers to the questions being asked, 2) a knowledge of philosophy can help the researcher to recognise which designs will work and which will not, and 3) knowledge of philosophy can help the researcher identify and even create designs that may be outside his or her past experience"* (:27). The philosophical approaches to pilgrimage and tourism research are the focus of continued debate and attention (Tribe 2009 & 1997; Riley and Love 2000), so it is imperative that this

chapter adopts a balanced view of the philosophical approaches to research to enable valid, reliable and credible outcomes from the research question (Bryman and Bell 2007; Silverman 2006; Alvesson and Deetz 2000). Easterby-Smith et al (2002) suggest that *"failure to think through philosophical issues…can seriously affect the quality of research and that they are central to the notion of research design"* (:27). The question this section seeks to answer is which philosophy, or more appropriately which combination of philosophies, is best suited to a subject, tourism and pilgrimage, that encompasses a realm of competing discourses, transformative paradigms and shifting post-modernistic practice (Dora 2012; Collins-Kreiner 2010; Eade & Sallnow 1991).

Table 3.1 Alternative Paradigms and Research Selection

Alternative paradigms	**Ontology**	**Epistemology**	**Methodology**
Positivism	Realism: truth exists and can be identified or discovered	Objectivism: unbiased observer	Hypothesis testing: falsification, quantification, controlled conditions
Post-positivism	Critical realism: truth exists but can be partially comprehended	Objectivism is ideal but can only be approximated	Modified quantification, field studies, some qualitative methods
Critical theory	Value-laden realism: truth shaped by social processes (e.g. feminist, ethnic, neo-Marxist)	Subjectivism: values influence inquiry	Interactive process that seeks to challenge commonly held notions
Interpretivism	Relativism: knowledge is socially constructed, local and specific	Subjectivism: knowledge created and coproduced by researcher and subject	Process of reconstructing multiple realities through informed consensus

Adapted from: Burrell and Morgan (1979); Guba (1990); Denzin and Lincoln (1998); Riley and Love (2000)

3.2.2 Guba's alternative paradigms – A theoretical discussion of philosophical positions and pilgrim-touristic paradigms

Positivist Paradigm – The positivist paradigm, the school of philosophy that asserts that reality lies only in things that can be seen with the naked eye, (Grbich 2012) is centred on a belief that the world exists externally and can therefore be measured in quantifiable and observable methods rather than being *"inferred subjectively through sensation, reflection or intuition"* (Easterby-Smith et al 2002: 28). The positivist paradigm is credited to the work of

Auguste Comte (1853) who suggested that *"all good intellects have repeated, since Bacon's time, that there can be no real knowledge but that which is based on observed facts"* (Easterby-Smith 2002: 28). Comte's theory is dominated by the suggestion that all human behaviour is the result of *"observable forces external to the individual...it rejects the abstract and subjective aspects of human nature, such as emotions and feelings, favouring observation, categorisation and the measurement of facts"* (Holden 2006: 40-41). The positivist philosophy claims an abstract realism: it searches for hypothetically based truths that can be recognised in two distinct ways; 1) by seeing that an assertion makes sense by itself and is consistent with deductions made from it… and 2) by recognising that it is supported by empirical evidence … (Jankowicz 2005).

Comte's statement suggests a number of factors that can be observed and discussed. Firstly; ontologically the person (researcher) and reality are separate, and therefore objective, secondly; from an epistemological perspective, objective reality exists beyond the human mind and therefore can only be based upon observations of external reality, and thirdly; there is an element of one-to-one mapping between research statements and reality; if indeed there is an observable objective reality (Sandberg 2004 in Weber 2004). These three factors can be encapsulated in the suggestion by Remenyi et al (1998) that *"underlying positivism is the assumption that the researcher is independent of and neither affects or is affected by the subject of the research"* (:33). Remenyi's (1998) assumptions present a view of the 'rational separate researcher' which supports a singular knowable knowledge/reality accumulated through pure understanding and rigorous intellectual reasoning (Grbich 2012).

Comte's positivism purported that society, and the measurement of societal phenomenon such as pilgrimage, should only be concerned with observable, measurable facts/data. For the study of pilgrim-touristic settings Comte's positivist theory has serious consequences. Holden (2006) highlights this point in his examination of positivism as the dominant paradigm in the study of tourism and religion...as he (Holden) persists...*"adopting a positivist approach to understanding tourism as a fact of society would typically be based upon measuring different aspects of it, in an attempt to establish the social laws that govern it...the rationale for the ignoring of emotions, interpretations and feelings is that not only are they unable to be measured effectively, but they may also distort any objective analysis"* (: 40). Holden (2006) challenges the positivist method for understanding society through reliable knowledge – and claims that one must develop the traditions of positivism to explain how society works and develops. Indeed Maxwell (2012) argues that, even within the traditional positivist paradigm, *"there cannot, even in principle, be such a thing as a God's-eye-view, a view that is the one true objective account ...any view is a view from some perspective and is therefore shaped by the location (social and theoretical) and lens of the observer".* (: 46). There is cause in Maxwell's (2012) theory to claim that one cannot escape minimal subjectivity or even experiential knowledge - often neglected in the positivist research design and traditions as irrelevant and biased rather than as a valuable component of the research (see Maxwell 2012).

Post-positivist Paradigm – Recent thinking (Maxwell 2012; Grbich 2012) in post-positivistic studies supports the claim that researchers/scientists are biased by their life experiences and

education, thus rendering the notion of positivist 'complete objectivity' a flawed concept. This thinking is not new (see Guba 1990); but it does suggest that research observations continue to be/are both value-laden and fallible. Indeed Trochim (2006) makes it clear that the philosophical position of the post-positivist is one of recognition that all observation is fallible and has error and that all theory is revisable (Trochim 2006). This suggestion echo's the theories of Kuhn, Rorty, Dewer, and the other great philosophers, who each stress that the principles of positivism, 'laws and truths', should only be retained if they can be defined in terms of successful outcomes. The positivist aims to uncover the truth whereas the post-positivist modifies and believes that *"the goal of science is to hold steadfastly to the goal of getting it right about reality, even though we can never truly achieve that goal"* (Trochim 2006: 2).

Grbich (2012) perhaps offers the most credible modification of post-positivism by claiming a relative realism which asserts that the structures *"creating the world cannot always be directly observed and when and if they are observable their genesis is not always clear"* (: 6). The post-positivist occupies a position of pseudo-objectivity, a distanced neutral role where their influence in the construction of reality is minimal. Realism moves away from the central tenets of positivism by suggesting that although a real world driven by real natural causes exists, it is impossible for humans truly to perceive it with *"their imperfect sensory and intellective mechanisms"* (Cook and Campbell 1979: 29 in Guba 1990: 20). Grbich (2012) uses the example of gravity to explain the concept of post-positivist realism – we cannot see gravity but we know it exists and that it requires a mixture of intuition, various intellectual processes, and the laws of physics in order to clarify the workings of this force.

Post-positivism supports the use of multi measures and observations to overcome the fallible shortcomings of singular positivist research methodologies. Central to the post-positivist philosophy is the concept of critical multiplism, (Cook 1985 in Guba 1990) an elaborated form of multi-triangulation. Opperman (2000) considers triangulation an emergent method in the study of post-positivist tourism; the *"division of an area into triangles for surveying purposes"* (141) a central methodological advancement and a method used by tourism researchers as a bridge between the pre-eminent quantitative studies and the growing qualitative studies. As Guba (1990) points out, based on the principles of post-positivism, if human sensory and intellective mechanisms cannot be relied upon, *"it is essential that the findings of an inquiry be based on as many sources of data, investigations, theories and methods as possible"* (:21). This ideal is not to be confused with the mixed methods/philosophies approach of Easterby-Smith et al (2002) and other commentators. The use of combinations of approaches is merely an attempt to use *"triangulation across multiple error sources to try to get a better lead on what's happening in reality"* (Trochim 2006: 2). Triangulation, in post-positivism, is an attempt to minimise the bias that may be evident in the researcher most usually based upon cultural background/sensitivity, experiences and world views. Opperman (2000) points out that triangulation helps the researcher to *"zero in on the answers or information sought"* (:142). Multi method approaches within the post-positivist philosophy emphasise and support critical multiplism as a force to redress the imbalances of science and positivism articulated by early philosophers such as Comte and

Bacon. Underpinning post-positivism is the recognition that 'control' is a central element of the outcome of research. Post-positivism simply moves one step away from the positivist philosophy and offers instead a number of insightful considerations for the social science researcher to attain a form of control that is as close to the positivist ideal of 'precision' as possible (i.e. careful description, truthful depiction, studies with clear aims, objectives, a reliable design, a focus on neutrality, objectivity and theory-testing characterise these approaches) (Grbich 2006). Guba (1990) suggests that it is not surprising considering the search for precision that the positivist researcher will overemphasise the use of quantitative methods. The post-positivist researcher attempts to redress this imbalance by adopting a mix of both qualitative and quantitative methods. This does not however indicate a shift in paradigm, merely a shift in methodology. Post-positivism and critical multiplism support a modified form of positivism that addresses the imbalance of generalisability in a wider social and cultural setting where the positivist ideals of 'control and precision' associated with laboratory research are more difficult to achieve. Triangulation places an emphasis upon post-positivism 'adjusting' positivist theory to enable a 'fit' that takes into account human inference and methodological limitations. The adoption of triangulated, objective, multi methodologies in post-positivism is merely an attempt to eradicate fallibility and replace it with the 'best' theoretical framework achievable. As Grbich (2012) points out; for the post-positivist *"the assumption that a world that could be precisely measured and documented exists independently just waiting for us to gain sufficiently sophisticated tools to discover it, was questioned, and the belief that absolute, knowable truth existed became sidelined and provisional post-positivist truths became a more likely outcome"* (: 6).

Critical Theory Paradigm - The critical theory paradigm is most commonly attributed to the work of Karl Marx (Grbich 2012; Maxwell 2012; Jennings 2001; Alvesson and Deetz 2000), and the *"need to conduct research that will free oppressed groups from oppression and thereby change their social circumstances"* (Jennings 2001: 41). Guba (1990) and Alvesson and Deetz (2000) while agreeing with this definition suggest that the term critical theory is inadequate to encompass all of the sub-categories that this paradigm encompasses especially when one considers Marx's critique of capitalist exploitation, profit, power and class conflict. Indeed Guba (1990) progresses one step further by considering the alternative and more appropriate label for critical theory of 'ideologically oriented inquiry'; denoting a position which rejects reality as existing 'out there' and instead challenges the view that reality is produced by exploitative social and political systems (Grbich 2012). Debates concerning definition aside it is clear that the critical theory paradigms differ significantly from the positivist and post-positivist paradigms because they converge *"in rejecting the claim of value freedom"* (Guba 1990: 23). Critical theorists reject the positivist claim for *"status quo due to its ontological perspective of a stable and structured society following rules that both regulate and guide behaviour"* (Jennings 2001: 41). The critical theory paradigm perceives the world as being complex, inferring notions of power-knowledge relationships, experience and language, historical social conflict and complex human subjects (Alvesson and Deetz 2000). Jennings (2001) and Bryman (2004) seek to uncover the subsequent impact of Alvesson and Deetz's (2000) suggestion claiming that the social world involves *"oppression, subjugation and exploitation of minority groups who lack any real or perceived power"*

(Jennings 2001: 41-42). This ideological perspective, first suggested by Marx (1844), focuses primarily on the assumption that economic and societal exploitation is orchestrated by individuals or groups in power positions. Critical theorists therefore, unlike positivists and post-positivists, believe that research can, and should, involve change, particularly for the oppressed. Guba and Lincoln (1994) consolidate the critical theory perspective of research outcomes based upon 'change' by suggesting that *"the entire research process is about the transformational change of the social setting being studied"* (: 110 in Jennings 2001: 42). The central tenet of critical theory research places the researcher at the centre of the topic/subject being researched with a particular emphasis focused on empowering *"the minority group to effect social change to improve its circumstances"* (Jennings 2001: 42).

The critical theory paradigm has experienced a significant revival during the latter part of the twentieth century, particularly in the study of tourism. As the interests of minority and marginalised groups have received increased attention, Jennings (2001), provides an example of how critical research has penetrated beneath the surface to uncover social structures and policies that inhibit or constrict minority/oppressed groups in a variety of tourism settings. *"The study of a host community in a developing nation experiencing negative impacts as a result of several multinational corporations' involvement in tourism enterprises in the host community"* (Jennings 2001: 43) uncovers several interesting touristilogical generic features. Jennings (2001) considers the role of the critical theory researcher in such an example as both penetrative and mediator. The identification of the 'negative impacts' and subsequent stimulus to promote transformational change is typical of the critical theorist approach latterly suggested by Maxwell (2012) and Grbich (2012) and theoretically introduced by Harvey (1990) (in Hammersley 1995), Honneth (1987) (in Hammersley 1995) and Hammersley (1995). Harvey (1990), for example, critiques critical theory in tourism as *"an analysis which digs beneath ostensive and dominant conceptual frames, in order to reveal the underlying practices, their historical specificity and structural manifestations…and leads the researcher to engage in praxis aimed at changing those structures"* (Harvey 1990: 4-6 in Hammersley 1995: 35).

Interpretivist Paradigm - The interpretivist paradigm is perhaps the most fluid, viscous and flexible philosophical position; characterised by knowledge construction and accumulation that is dominated by multiple realities, with different people experiencing them in different ways. Interpretivists assume that there is no objective knowledge that is independent of thinking; *"reality is viewed as socially and societally embedded and existing within the mind"* (Grbich 2012: 7). The proposition presented here is not straightforward however. It would be naive to claim that it is possible to adopt a position of constructive reality where each individual's reality is measurable and definable. Interpretivism rejects objective reality and instead accepts a constructive reality that is shaped by everyday lives, assumptions, prior experiences as well as the symbolic interactions that denote relationships and the exchange of knowledge and understanding. Maxwell (2012) considers these complex factors and suggests that every interpretivist/qualitative model, theory or conclusion that one makes is a simplified and incomplete attempt to understand something about a complex reality. This notion would certainly apply to the study of pilgrim-touristic meaning. Interpretivism is concerned with

how individuals interpret and make sense of their world and the events and situations/settings in which they participate – all of which have an impact on constructed, subjective understandings. Grbich (2012) perhaps offers the clearest view of the application of interpretivism by claiming that constructed subjective knowledge is based on the shared signs and symbols that are recognised by members of a culture. For this study one can concentrate, or focus, the constructed interpretivist philosophical debate on the parallel theoretical transformations that have taken place in the study of pilgrim-touristic movement, motive and latterly meaning (Dora 2012; Andriotis 2011; Collins-Kreiner 2010; Croft et al 2007).

Bryman and Bell (2007) posit that the intellectual heritage of interpretivism is grounded in the hermeneutic-phenomenological tradition. This anti-positivist position is characterised by the phenomenological application that is concerned with the question of how individuals make sense of the world around them and how in particular the philosopher should bracket out pre-conceptions in his or her grasp of that world. This proposition does of course resonate in the study of pilgrim-touristic meaning. The social reality of making sense, or meaning, of the world around us would suggest that human action is therefore meaningful – that is, according to Maxwell (2012), it has meaning for them and that they act on the basis of the meanings that they attribute to their acts and to the acts of others. The responsibility of the interpretivist researcher is to gain access to the individual's actions and social world and to interpret how meaning is constructed from their point of view (Maxwell 2012; Bryman and Bell 2007). Points of view in qualitative research are however dependent upon relative points; as Grbich (2012) points out, the researcher is not, and can never be, a distant neutral being, existing at the edge, and objective in the research process.

3.2.3 Traditions in philosophical approaches – A pilgrim/touristic analysis

The philosophical positioning of pilgrimage and tourism as a discipline has undergone many transformations (Tribe 2009; Jennings 2001; Riley and Love 2000) but, according to Tribe (2009), despite the *"geometric expansion of tourism knowledge some areas have remained stubbornly underdeveloped...and a full and comprehensive consideration of the philosophical issues of tourism represents such significant knowledge gaps"* (: 3). If one considers the traditional approaches to pilgrim touristic research then it becomes clear that the dominant paradigm was the positivist position (Riley and Love 2000). This is especially the case when one considers the body of quantitative research in pilgrim touristic studies - supported by Riley and Love's (2000) analysis of touristic research which would suggest that quantification was the dominant approach in pilgrim-touristic studies during the formative theory building and application period (see Nolan and Nolan 1989; Jennings 2001; Tribe 1997 & 2009). Selby (2007) also suggests that quantitative surveys still, in certain pilgrim-touristic disciplines, tend to dominate research but continues…*"tourism researchers need to capture the lived realities and everyday representations of tourists…to capture tourist knowledge and action"* (:1). Selby's (2007) proposal is more concerned with capturing how society and tourists function rather than the positivist tradition within tourism studies *"with much tourism research concerned with analysing relationships between quantifiable variables"* (:5). According to Riley and Love (2000) the recognition that tourism research reaches *"beyond a compilation of numbers was actualised in the Paradigms of Tourism*

Research conference held in 1996 in Jyväskylä, Finland" (: 164). The objective of the 1996 conference was to explore the dominant paradigms and methods in tourism research (positivist and quantitative) as well as encouraging a dialogue that *"encourages alternative approaches to the study of this field"* (interpretivist and qualitative) (: 164-5).

Of course when one makes sweeping theorisations concerning philosophy one cannot, and should not, ignore the early 'alternative sociological' studies of qualitative pilgrim/touristic research which as Cohen (1988) suggests *"have been made by researchers who employed an often-loose qualitative methodology...which endowed the field with its distinctive intellectual tensions, even as the much more rigorous quantitative touristological studies often yielded results of limited interest"* (: 30) (see Gale and Botterill 2005). Cohen's (1988) assessment suggests that much of the earlier/seminal research in tourism and pilgrimage was undertaken through qualitative methodologies – this proposition can be applied to a sample of the key texts used in this study (Boorstin 1961; Cohen 1972; Dann 1981; Graburn 1977 & 1983; MacCannell 1976; Turner and Turner 1978; Marnham 1980). Early qualitative research in pilgrim-touristic studies was characterised by sociological and anthropological studies, including the destination of publication; such as the seminal work by Turner and Turner (1978) who posit that *"it is the task of the anthropologist to discriminate the structure of the sacred complex, and to relate its labyrinthine ways to the progress of the pilgrim toward his devotional goal"* (: 23). Riley and Love (2000) point out several reasons why the earlier pilgrim-touristic qualitative research identified in this section may have been criticised as lacking in rigour, credibility and validity including; 1) researchers were less familiar with qualitative methods than researchers are today, 2) qualitative methodologies and methods were less well defined during this period, and 3) the lack of tourism journal editors/reviewers support for qualitative methodologies. In contrast, according to Riley and Love (2000), the research that was being published in the mainstream tourism journals was characterised by statistical quantification that described temporal migration and pilgrim-touristic revenues.

It has only been in the last twenty years that researchers have questioned the relevance of quantitative methodologies in the study of pilgrimage and tourism that fail to address questions of understanding, subjectivity and meaning. Important paradigmatic shifts beyond the dominant positivist traditions can be evidenced in the intermediate work of Smith (1992); Reader and Walter (1993); Stoddard (1996) and Sharpley (1999). The paradigmatic shift, from positivist to interpretivist philosophies and methodologies, does of course, theoretically, parallel the shift in pilgrim-touristic theoretical literature development from the objective (external) to the subjective (internal) paradigm (chapter 2). As Collins-Kreiner (2010) points out *"as a result...it is now clear that each person may interpret his or her own experience differently, and that it is no longer sufficient to focus solely on the experience offered by the objective. In this way, current pilgrimage research emphasises subjectivity"* (: 9). Subjective interpretivist interpretations of pilgrimage and tourism are most evident in the contemporary work of Dora (2012); Andriotis (2011); Collins-Kreiner (2010); Timothy and Olsen (2006); Badone and Roseman (2004); Poria, Airey and Butler (2003).

3.2.4 Positioning pilgrim-touristic studies

Section 3.2.2 has provided an overview of each of Guba's (1990) alternative paradigms and importantly how each responds to questions of epistemology, ontology and methodology. The answers to these questions, suggests Guba (1990), sets the basic belief systems or paradigms (positions) that might be selected/adopted by the researcher. This study is concerned with the factors influencing the construction of individual's subjective meaning when visiting pilgrimage shrines. The specific objectives of the study are;

- To examine the relationship between pilgrim, tourist and marker at Lourdes;
- To determine the markers role in framing individual space at Lourdes;
- To evaluate the interrelating factors that contribute to the personal construction of meaning at Lourdes.
- To consider how one may apply the outcomes of this study to the practice of visiting Lourdes.

If one returns briefly to the earlier paragraphs in this section there is an inference that traditional pilgrim-touristic research is grounded in the positivist and post-positivist traditions; this would seem an obvious statement given that research in this area is concerned/dominated with patterns of movement (both regional, domestic and international), visitor spend and most importantly the quantification of shrine/destination usage (Nolan and Nolan 1989). In addition to the positivist and post-positivist traditions in pilgrim-touristic research there has also been a growing interest during the first and especially latter half of the 1990s in critical paradigms; principally in the specific emancipatory focused pilgrim-touristic studies (see Eade and Sallnow 1991; Eade 1992; Sharpley 1999; Jennings 2001). This study however is concerned with the subjective reality of individuals visiting Lourdes, as well as the personal narratives, influences, control mechanisms and constructions of meaning that all characterise, and are components of, visiting pilgrimage shrines. An important objective for this research is giving a voice to individuals in their own context/setting. This study is concerned with understanding the constructive reality of individuals that are shaped by everyday lives, assumptions, prior experiences, as well as the symbolic interactions that denote relationships and the exchange/transfer of knowledge/understanding/interpretation. This approach mirrors current theoretical positioning in pilgrim-touristic research, most latterly evidenced in the work of Collins-Kreiner;

"As we have seen, earlier works emphasised the way the objective, namely the pilgrimage, provided one kind of experience or another, and regarded the experience as a direct consequence of the objective itself. More recent scholarship has portrayed the experience as dependent on the pilgrimage, but also on the visitors themselves and their own perceptions of their visit and overall experience.

Currently, research stresses the importance of what the pilgrims themselves say about their pilgrimage, since they constitute its main component...As a result of this perception, it is now clear that each person may interpret his or her own experience differently, and that it is no longer sufficient to focus solely on the experience offered by the objective. In this way, current pilgrimage research emphasises subjectivity"

Collins-Kreiner (2010: 9)

The work of Collins-Kreiner (2010) builds upon the earlier paradigmatic shifts in pilgrim-touristic studies (Smith 1992; Reader and Walter 1993; Stoddard 1996; Jennings 2001). It was Smith (1992) who first introduced the notion of a pilgrim/tourist continuum which presents an opportunity to, crudely, measure movement, motive and meaning. Smith (1992) distanced the pilgrim/tourist from the pilgrimage shrine and thus offered a conceptualisation that partially rejected the positivist traditions (Nolan and Nolan 1989) and embraced a pseudo-subjective model which artificially delineated pilgrims and tourists based upon questions of 'why' they might be visiting pilgrimage centres. Evidence of the transformations from quantitative structured methodologies to qualitative flexible methodologies developed pace in the 1990s following the Smith (1992) conceptualisation. Eade (1992) in his study of life as a 'Brancardier' at Lourdes offers a highly personalised and purely subjective view of a 'behind the scenes' experience on pilgrimage. Eade (1992) adopts the earlier framework/conceptualisations of Sallnow (1981) to develop his subjective interpretivist interpretations of pilgrimage; *"...the fundamental psychological model of pilgrimage...the importance of other facets of human character, such as the intellectual, social and spiritual..."* (: 20) all featured highly in Eade's (1992) counter-positivist paradigmatic narrative.

The discussion thus far has presented an incremental paradigmatic shift that while at first sight may appear to be linear, does, on closer reflection, pose a number of concerns. If one is to agree with Collins-Kreiner's (2010) hypothesis of pilgrim-touristic paradigmatic transformations then one must question the layers of subjective meaning in current pilgrim-touristic research. Collins-Kreiner (2010) admits that the shift from positivism to a pseudo post-modern interpretivism may only be a reflection of the means of analysis (theory - contemporary attention to subjective experiences) rather than the subject of analysis (phenomena - or the change in phenomena - or the lack of change in phenomena!). As Collins-Kreiner states

"...Since the 1990s, with pilgrimage and tourism increasingly coming to be viewed as a post-modern phenomenon, the literature has offered little criticism of the validity of the sundry theories. Instead, each researcher presents a different aspect of the phenomenon, employing his or her own approach, methodology and experience in studying the subject. Of course, it appears clear that not all approaches offered can be correct, but issues of 'right' and 'wrong' seem less important in the post-modern world, and may not even exist.

...Today, studying the meaning of pilgrimage transcends geography and sociology and involves an interpretative approach to seeking hitherto neglected alternative meanings. Present studies assume that pilgrimages are products of the culture in which they were created; hence, they tell us 'stories' from political, religious, cultural and social perspectives. These pilgrimages are products of the norms and values of social tradition and order and, at the same time, have also played a meaningful role in shaping such culture and tradition"

Collins-Kreiner (2010: 11)

The transformation from objective (positivist) reality to subjective (interpretivist) reality may therefore only be a simulacrum of reality itself. Collins-Kreiner (2010) the champion of pilgrim-touristic objective to subjective transformation admits that in reality...

"...there are no absolute criteria for judging interpretative versions...for example...individual experiences can change from moment to moment...there are no clear cut distinctions...the point is that although everything may be in a state of flux, we can nonetheless discover structures beneath the surface..."

Collins-Kreiner (2010: 13)

Current conceptualisations of pilgrim-touristic meaning, while displaying elements of post-modern philosophical paradigms, are not coherent. Perhaps the transformation argues Collins-Kreiner (2010), is not as dramatic as some researchers would like to think - the move towards subjectivity certainly does not imply the collapse of all existing theory. The complex philosophical marriage of pilgrim-touristic phenomena may in reality be the point of legitimisation for the multiple contemporary approaches to interpreting pilgrim-touristic movement, motive, meaning, behaviour and decision-making. Pilgrimage remains the constant; the point of religious connection, the individual act of personal meaning, and the shared expression of togetherness, all of which combine to reveal phenomena which is perhaps beyond philosophical 'pigeon-holing'.

3.2.5 A philosophical and methodological rationale

The flexibility of interpretivism in this study presents a credible and valid philosophical position for two reasons; 1) this study is concerned with the construction of subjective meaning – the guiding principle of this study is meaning; or more precisely how meaning is constructed. The central ideology of interpretivism is how individuals make sense of meaning and of the world around them, and 2) the ideological principles of interpretivism would suggest that human action is therefore meaningful - that is it has meaning for them and that they act on the basis of the meanings that they attribute to their acts and to the acts of others. This study is grounded in pure interpretivism; it aims to lay bare how members of the pilgrim-touristic community interpret the world around them (Grbich 2012; Maxwell 2012; Bryman and Bell 2007). Interpretivism does not strive for objective, unobstructed reality but it does accept that subjectivity has value. The interpretivist researcher places the participant's interpretations into a theoretical frame that is contiguous with both the pilgrims, tourists and researchers interpretations. The interpretivist researcher is not a neutral being in the study but is immersed in the process of design, delivery and interpretation. Bryman and Bell (2007) point out that in reality there is a third layer of interpretation happening because the researcher's interpretations have to be *"further interpreted in terms of the concepts, theories and literature of a discipline"* (: 21).

The methodological position of this study is qualitative adopting an inductive view of the relationship between theory and research, the former generated out of the latter. Bryman and Bell (2007) identify three features which characterise qualitative research;

1. an inductive view of the relationship between theory and research
2. an epistemological position described as interpretivist
3. an ontological position described as constructionist

In addition to Bryman and Bell's (2007) criteria/characteristics of/for qualitative research this study also complies to Grbich's (2012) five characteristics of qualitative research; the underpinning ideology or belief system which assets that;

1. *subjectivity* has value – meaning that both the views of the participant and those of the researcher are to be respected, acknowledged and incorporated as data, and the interpretation of the data will be constructed by both researcher and participant (the researcher is not a distant neutral being);
2. *validity* - trustworthiness is seen as getting to the truth of the matter; *reliability* dependability is viewed as a sound research design; *generalisability* is local and conceptual only;
3. *power* lies predominantly with the researched;
4. *an holistic view is essential* - so the structures impacting on the setting such as policies, culture, situation and context need to be included;
5. every study is *time- and context-bound* - so that replication and generalisation are unlikely outcomes

This section has provided a philosophical and methodological context for this study. A full analysis of each philosophical paradigm enables a conscious, thoughtful and often pre-determined decision which fits the study, its aims, and the researchers 'world-view'. As Maxwell (2012) points out *"your decisions about paradigm issues are not entirely a matter of free choice...choosing a paradigm or tradition should involve assessing which paradigmatic views best fit with your assumptions and methodological preferences...as well as what insights and productive approaches these views might provide for your study"* (: 44). To return to the earlier paragraphs of this chapter Easterby-Smith et al (2002) suggest that *"failure to think through philosophical issues…can seriously affect the quality of research and that they are central to the notion of research design"* (:27). This study is, in terms of philosophical paradigm, reflective of, and sensitive to, the complex nature of pilgrimage, both secular and religious. This study is concerned with what factors influence the construction of individual's subjective meaning when visiting pilgrimage shrines and therefore seeks to uncover the interactions, communications and interpretations of pilgrimage on a personal (meaning) level. The traditions of disaggregating the pilgrim from the shrine are centred on the objective literature which dominates the earlier and seminal studies in pilgrimage and tourism. Contemporary pilgrim-touristic studies however support a research design grounded in the interpretive/qualitative paradigm with current research stressing the importance of what the pilgrims themselves say about their pilgrimage, since they constitute its main component (Collins-Kreiner 2010).

This section has set out the epistemological position of the study. Section 3.3 will now consider the actual methods used to collect and analyse the primary data.

3.3 Part Three – Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

3.3.1 Data gathering and analysis

The overall research design is qualitative in keeping with the interpretivist philosophical position identified in section 3.2. The data for the study were gathered in two phases. Phase one consisted of a four day convenience sample semi-structured interview methodology based at several locations in the town of Lourdes. Phase 1 was intended as a piloting exercise which would contribute a) to the refinement of the research question and b) to the research design for phase 2. Phase 2 adopted a micro-ethnographic approach which consisted of eight days spent at Lourdes as part of a Diocesan pilgrimage. Phase 2 data collection methods were conversational informal interviews. The analysis of data in this study is undertaken using the thematic analysis technique.

Section 3.3 is structured in the following way. Firstly each data collection phase will be examined by initially defining the approach and secondly by providing a rationale and description of each stage as it relates to this study. Secondly the data analysis technique will be examined, justified and applied in relation to this study.

3.3.2 Data collection 1 – Convenience interviews

Defining convenience sampling

The convenience sample is possibly the most common method for collecting data as it relies solely upon selecting those cases that are easiest to obtain for your sample (Saunders et al 2009; Jennings 2001). The justification for convenience sampling is two-fold; firstly it may be the only opportunity that is available, and secondly it provides a *"springboard for further research; or it allows links to be forged with existing findings in the area"* (Bryman and Bell 2007: 198). A convenience sample is one which is available to the researcher by virtue of its accessibility. This proposition does cause some concerns however. As Bryman and Bell (2007) note convenience sampling does pose issues relating to sample selection and sample representativeness. This is of course relative to the needs of the researcher.

The convenience sample study

Unlike the traditional approaches to convenience sampling, this study did not continue the process of convenience interviewing until a pre-required sample had been achieved. The rationale for this pre-ethnographic study was to explore, with an indiscriminate number of randomly selected participants, a selection of themes including movement, motive and meaning (both individual and shared). The convenience sample for this study was based upon randomly approaching participants during a four day pilot-study exercise at Lourdes; including locations at the Shrine/Grotto/Baths/Basilica and in the town/bars/cafes/souvenir

shops. The reason for the convenience interviews was to identify and access participants that may have been eliminated from, or existed outside of the boundaries of, the micro-ethnographic study; and thus to give those individuals a voice in the framing, approach and structure of the study. The decision to adopt the convenience method allowed for flexibility, selectivity and randomness. Participants were indiscriminate and mostly British Nationals due to the limitations of the author to interview in other languages. The purpose of this element of the study was twofold; 1) to undertake a range of convenience, informal, casual semi-structured interviews that would act as a piloting exercise for the larger micro-ethnographic study, and 2) to focus the methodology collection techniques for the micro-ethnographic study.

The interviews were semi-structured and consisted of four questions; 1) what is the purpose of your visit to Lourdes, 2) is this your first visit to Lourdes, 3) have you travelled to Lourdes independently or as part of an organised group, and 4) what activities will you take part in during your visit. Two key interviews emerged as part of the convenience sample; 1) a serving Priest who was leading a small group of pilgrims, and 2) an experienced pilgrim who had visited Lourdes, on pilgrimage, eleven times. The two extended interviews developed from the four initial semi-structured questions and each lasted in excess of thirty minutes. The interviews were valuable as a piloting and framing exercise and contributed to the structure, themes and approach for the micro-ethnographic phase.

3.3.3 Data collection 2 – Micro-ethnographic study

Defining ethnography

The origins of ethnography are in work of the nineteenth century anthropologists who observed alternative pre-industrial cultures. According to Silverman (2006) ethnography puts together two words – ethno which means folk, and – graph which derives from the word writing. Silverman (2006) expands this simple definition by claiming that *"ethnography is the study of people in naturally occurring settings or field by methods of data collection which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner"* (: 67). Henn, Weinstein and Foard (2006) commence their study of ethnography by aligning the approach to a philosophical position; *"researchers undertake ethnographic studies to see the world in a new way from the point of view of the people under investigation, not just to confirm their preconceptions about a particular issue or group that they are studying"* (: 171). Silverman (2006) suggests that ethnographic research usually involves the following four features;

1. A strong emphasis on exploring the nature of particular social phenomena, rather than setting out to test hypotheses about them,
2. A tendency to work primarily with 'unstructured' data, that is, data that have not been coded at the point of data collection in terms of a closed set of analytic categories,
3. Investigation of a small number of cases,

4. Analysis of data that involves explicit interpretations of the meanings and functions of human actions, the product of which mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations, with quantification and statistical analysis playing a subordinate role at most.

Silverman (2006: 79).

Ethnography is about telling a story. It is concerned with telling a story that is authentic, credible and rigorous; a story that seeks to see the world through the eyes of those being researched, *"allowing them to speak for themselves, often through direct quotations in the research report"* (Veal 1997: 140). The ethnographer keeps an open mind and immerses him-or-herself in a cultural setting for an extended period of time, listening to conversations, observing behaviour (and patterns of behaviour) and asking questions. The ethnographer may have an open mind but, as Fetterman (2010) points out, not an empty mind. The ethnographer is an integral part of the research process; for example the destination/focus of this studies pilgrimage, the Diocesan selection, the focus of the research, were all decisions made by the researcher; this may suggest selectivity and bias. Selectivity and bias are not negative concepts for the interpretivist qualitative researcher however. Ethnography is about immersing oneself in a cultural setting, becoming part of the process, being the researcher and the researched. The ethnographer is interested in understanding the social and cultural setting from the insider's point of view. The ethnographer is both teller of the story and scientist; *"the closer the reader of an ethnography comes to understanding the native's point of view, the better the story and the better the science"* (Fetterman 2010: 2). Fetterman's (2010) notion of science is an important point; qualitative ethnography is an empirical socially located phenomenon, *"defined by its own history, not simply a residual grab-bag comprising all things that are not quantitative"* (Kirk and Miller 1986: 10). Ethnography should not be confused with observation. Often the terms participant observer and ethnographer are used interchangeably but in reality ethnography is more than just observing. Christou et al (2009) concur with this notion and claim that ethnography is not synonymous with observation since *"the methodological approach refers to more than just the process of observation, given that it also embraces informal plain chats/conversations or even conducting in-depth interviews"* (: 57). The informality of conversations in ethnographic research has been well documented (Fetterman 2010; Christou 2009; Palmer 2005); informal 'conversations' put people at ease and are more likely to obtain the type of information which would be more difficult to uncover in more structured surroundings such as formal interviews or formal settings. Ryan (1995) develops this theory by claiming that in the discipline of tourism for example, direct interaction with the respondents by the researcher, generates rich, deep and credible data.

Traditional ethnographical methodologies have been well documented in the discipline of tourism. Examples include;

- Arnould and Price (1993) – the relationship between tourist expectations and satisfaction in river-rafting trips
- Bowen (2001) – customer satisfaction and dissatisfaction in tourism

- Sorensen (2003) – extended conversations at accommodation venues, restaurants, bars and on excursion
- Bowie and Chang (2005) – tourist satisfaction during tour trips and leisure time

Furthermore the study of pilgrim-touristic activity has recently been grounded in ethnographic/anthropological methodologies. Dora (2012); Collins-Kreiner (2010) and Badone and Roseman (2004) highlight this point by claiming that recent studies have been concerned with what pilgrims themselves say about the pilgrimage; this is reflected in the early sociological and ethnographical methodologies which can be evidenced in post-Smith (1992) literature (Eade and Sallnow 1991; Eade 1992; Reader and Walter 1993; Frey 1998; Ebron 1999...) and in the post-Badone and Roseman (2004) conceptualisations of pilgrimage as a post-modern subjective phenomenon (Collins-Kreiner 2010; Andriotis 2011; Dora 2012).

The micro-ethnographic study

The Diocesan sample selected for the micro-ethnographic phase of this study was based upon three factors; 1) that any given Diocesan group from the UK would be a representative sample, 2) the timeframe of such a visit, especially when one considers that the Lancaster visit coincides with the height of the pilgrimage season at Lourdes, and 3) the Lancaster pilgrimage director; who acted as a gatekeeper and enabled access to the group (sub-group) - on the condition that the researcher accepted the role of helper/pilgrim for the duration of the visit. The logistical difficulties/challenges of joining a group from a different geographical location resulted in the researcher joining the Lancaster Diocesan group on day one of the pilgrimage at Lourdes. The sample was a sub-group of twenty four pilgrims from a total Diocesan group of six hundred pilgrims sub-divided based upon hotel location. The sample group consisted of a group leader (Priest), who acted as guide, co-ordinator, confidante, director, and link to the wider Diocesan management and itinerary of the pilgrimage. Each sub-group consisted of a similar composition of approx. twenty five members and a group leader (Priest, member of the clergy or nominated representative). The difficulties of group selection/access/acceptance for such a study will be discussed later in this chapter but it is worth noting at this point that the Lancaster Diocese was the third group that was approached, and accepted, to be part of the sample; the first two Diocesan groups that had agreed to be part of the study subsequently retracted their offers due to individual members disagreeing to be part of the research study. The retracted offers from the first two diocesan groups had a major impact on the timing of this study especially when one considers the seasonal nature of such pilgrimages

The ethnographic research in this study was based primarily upon conversation interviews. The conversations were not pre-determined or structured but developed organically with a specific but implicit research agenda. Informal interviews are the most common method of data collection in ethnography. Fetterman (2010) points out that the researcher uses informal approaches to *"discover the categories of meaning in a culture"* (: 41)...a core and central objective of this thesis. Interviews are the ethnographer's most important data collection technique – interviews explain and put into context what the ethnographer observes and experiences, explains Fetterman (2010). Conversational interviews were used for three

reasons; firstly, they do not involve any specific order or type of questions, and they can develop much in the same way as a conversation does, secondly, informal (conversational) interviews offer the most natural setting for data collection, and thirdly, it is well documented that (Fetterman 2010; Kutshce 1998) informal interviewing is the most common technique for collecting data in an ethnographic study because they allow the researcher to develop a rapport with the participants. Conversation interviews are not without concerns however; establishing and maintaining a relatively temporal relationship while at the same time attempting to elicit data which has value is the main challenge for the ethnographic researcher (Silverman 2006; Holden 2006). The twenty four pilgrims that were part of the Diocesan group were from a range of backgrounds - socially and demographically - and had a range of beliefs regarding Lourdes, the apparitions and the miraculous cult. Conversations did not take a formal structure but developed from natural dialogue. The conversations were stimulated by four pre-determined literature focused aide-memoires which were not directed at participants but merely used as points to focus direction; the four aide-memoires were 1) why have you come to Lourdes, 2) what does Lourdes mean to you, 3) what do you expect to get from your visit to Lourdes, and 4) will you return to Lourdes.

The selection of participants was, among the sub-group of twenty-four, indiscriminate and random. The location and duration of the study meant that pre-determined itineraries were the major influence of the group's activities and movements. The conversations took place at a variety of locations when convenience allowed; the majority of conversations happened at the end of the 'working' day when pilgrims and tourists converge on the bars and cafes in the old town of Lourdes. The conversations happened on each day of the pilgrimage and became, incrementally, more varied and deeper as the researcher became increasingly accepted within the group. The researcher was aware of, and complied with, Fetterman's (2010) guidelines for conversation interviewing; the conversations were an open forum, an opportunity for the researcher and participant to engage without the researcher prying or leading questions so that the participant felt threatened or compromised. As Fetterman (2010) remonstrates *"done well, informal interviewing feels like natural dialogue but answers the field-worker's often un-asked questions"* (: 41).

Each conversation was critical to the outcome of this research study. All twenty four participants contributed to the conversations. Each conversation developed differently; for example the group leader (Priest) was keen to explore the issues outlined and, on a number of occasions, assumed the role of researcher as he encouraged the group to 'contribute'. Such scenarios pose problems for the ethnographer; some degree of contamination is always present and it is the challenge for the ethnographer to mitigate 'artificiality' as much as is possible. Becoming part of the cultural group, developing a healthy rapport and thus positive relationships is critical to the success of such a study. Non-threatening questions defined the early stages of the conversation interviews as the researcher and participants became acquainted. The skilful ethnographer is then able to build on previous conversations to elicit more personal and sensitive topics. This was an important part of the research process for this study – the transition from basic relationship building to in-depth conversations was a key factor in eliciting stories which were highly personal and which during the initial stages of

the pilgrimage were only shared with other 'Diocesan' pilgrims. The data in this study are a combination of all the stages of the pilgrimage (day 1- day 8). The main technique for collecting data was an unobtrusive recording mechanism. This technique was not always possible; especially when one considers 1) the physical/tangible nature of being a 'helper' on pilgrimage where tasks include pushing wheelchairs, moving/stewarding groups to the Grotto/Baths/Basilica, serving refreshments etc... (Lourdes.org 2012) and 2) that it is not always appropriate during a conversation to interrupt the flow by asking ones participants to pause while you set up a recording device. During these activities observations were made which re-informed and shaped the subsequent conversations. Observations were not recorded but were critical as building blocks for the conversations and subsequent discussions. Observations were used to identify particular events or activities which were of interest in the research process; as Fetterman (2010) points out *"observation sets the stage for more refined techniques such as interviews and other projective technique"* (: 37).

3.3.4 Positionality of the researcher in the research process – the challenge of reflexivity (researcher position)

The positionality of the researcher is a significant factor in any qualitative research project as one aims to fully immerse oneself in the research setting. As Grbich (2012) points out, "*subjectivity in qualitative research has value...the views of the participant and those of the researcher are to be respected, acknowledged and incorporated as data, and the interpretation of the data will be constructed by both (researcher and participant)"* (: 4). The qualitative researcher is not a distant being; neutral, autonomous, or external to the data collection process. The qualitative researcher, according to Grbich (2012), is a central component of the research process, both in terms of data collection, analysis and interpretation. Finlay (2002) expands Grbich's (2012) researcher immersion position by claiming that reflexivity has a firm place within qualitative research, especially when one accepts that as qualitative researchers *"engaged in contemporary practice, we accept that the researcher is a central figure who influences, if not actively constructs, the collection, selection and interpretation of data"* (Finlay 2002: 212). According to Finlay (2002) we should no longer seek to eradicate the researcher's presence, *"instead subjectivity in research is transformed from a problem to an opportunity"* (: 212).

The selection of the qualitative micro-ethnographic methodology in this study provides a framework for full integration and immersion with the research process, both during the data collection phase and subsequently in the analysis and interpretation phase. The premise that the reader has been brought close to the multiple, and multifaceted realities of those researched, is both credible and desirable for the qualitative researcher, and was an important consideration in the design stage of the methodological approach in this study. Experiencing the emotions and feelings of the researcher, as well as the participants, is a central objective in a pure, unfiltered, reflexive qualitative research study.

This section sets out three positionality questions posed by Grbich (2012) in an attempt to better understand the researcher position in this study. The three questions are;

1. What have been the experiences of the researcher? Exposure of who the author actually is (past influences, beliefs, values and experiences as well as their responses in all situations) should be available.

2. Has the researcher been highly involved as a participant in his/her own right or what has been his/her position?

3. How close to the participants' view, voices, emotions and feelings is the display of data and how much 'shaping' (changing or manipulating) has the researcher been involved in?

Question 1

The experiences of the researcher influence the research process at each stage, especially when one considers the subjective and transitory nature of such encounters (religious/pilgrim and touristic). The dominant research position in this study, as already stated in this thesis, is concerned with giving a credible voice to each individual/participant. The mechanics of such an objective rely on researcher exposure; not only in a narrative sense but also in a literal sense during the data collection phase. Understanding the complex meaning attached to such an abstract activity as pilgrimage requires complex and intuitive relationship building, which is however complicated further when one considers the multi-layered belief systems among participants.

The qualitative research process is embedded in the subjective and multiple interpretations of the researcher – subjectivity has real value. Qualitative data, which can be viewed as credible, is dependent upon participant/researcher setting, interaction, connectivity and rapport. The position of the researcher, in the research process, is critical if one is to create an environment where participants escape the strictures of tradition, control and authority and are able to connect with the researcher in a free and unobstructed way.

The research process in this study is characterised and framed by the author's position. When one considers the complexity of belief systems, at a site such as Lourdes, then one can perceive a lens which has many theological faces – some of which reflect each other. Lourdes the place (setting/location) is characterised by disparity, inequality, difference and incongruity. As a visiting pilgrim to Lourdes, placing oneself in a metaphorical 'theological' pigeon-hole, is not only inconsequential, but equally is value-laden with connotations of belief levels, expectancy and responsiveness to authority.

The selection of participants in this study was guided by the author and indeed was relative to notions of randomness, selectivity and reflexivity. If one is to adopt a position of full researcher integration then it may be conceivable to offer an alternative construction of meaning that is jointly constructed – by both participants and researcher. This would not be an unreasonable conclusion to make especially when one considers the notions of researcher immersion outlined at the start of this section. The belief system of the researcher is grounded in the Pentecostalism movement which one can associate with the Evangelical and Apostolic traditions. Pentecostalism shares many characteristics with the Catholic traditions upon which

Lourdes is grounded. Each denomination (Pentecostalism/Catholicism) shares the basic theological premises of Creationism, the Trinity and Eucharist. The dividing line between Evangelical Pentecostalism and Catholicism however is centred on the place and role of Mary as intercessor and intermediary. The literature review in this study outlines Mary's centrality in the Catholic dogma, but it is interesting to add that in terms of positionality the researcher does not hold the same values and beliefs as those set out in the traditional Catholic Doctrine/Dogma. At this stage one may question how such theological imbalance, between researcher and researched, could maintain credibility and equity. Positioning oneself as pilgrim/helper in this study enabled and supported a transitory existence, not dissimilar to the Turners (1978) state of liminality, where pre-constructed belief systems were re-focused and re-adjusted on the basis of acceptance, trust and integration. Notions of belief are of course relative. Each participant in this study could equally be placed at different points on the 'believer's spectrum'. The qualitative researcher becomes another actor in a process that is characterised by the subjective meaning of social actions and interactions; a process that is dependent upon researcher and researched interaction.

Question 2

Qualitative research processes require immersion; not in a superficial sense where the researcher retains a level of distance, both literally and metaphorically, but in a real sense where the researcher becomes one of the participants (literally). The acceptance for the inclusion of the researcher in this study was based upon clear criteria; that the role of helper would be adopted and that the researcher would be highly involved as an active participant. The position of pilgrimage helper has immediacy in the context of group interaction, acceptability and closeness. The research setting in this study was based on the researcher joining a group of twenty four Diocesan pilgrims that had pre-formed prior to arriving at Lourdes. The difficulty of integrating with pre-formed groups has been well documented (Fetterman 2010; Kutsche 1998) and can be defined in terms of acceptance, trust, engagement and closeness. The decision to accept the role of helper/pilgrim was made on the basis of the increased opportunities for a) acceptance, and b) closeness to the group members. Closeness to the group was an important factor in the developmental phase of the research strategy. The immediacy of pilgrimages poses several problems for the researcher, most notably the transient nature of such groups. Pilgrimages, like the majority of qualitative contexts, are both time and context bound (Grbich 2012). The challenges of becoming highly involved as participant-researcher were realised at an early stage in the methodological design of this study and were considered at each stage of the negotiation and collection phase. Trust building is a significant concern for the ethnographic researcher especially when joining a group (pilgrimage) that is both non-captive (in a touristic sense) and where control, or perceived control, is held (partially) externally (in this case ecclesiastically).

Gaining acceptance as a highly involved participant-researcher is not immediate. This study required an approach that would facilitate incremental relationship building across and among the group of pilgrims. Each day the researcher interacted with all members of the group, during both formal and informal activities. Of course in any natural context there is likely to be a spectrum of, and levels to, depths of relationships. The twenty four participants

in this study ranged in age, gender and socio-economic disposition; all factors which had an impact on the relationship building process. Relationship equity is not a reasonable expectation or reality in qualitative research and this certainly was the case in this study (developing equitable relationships over a short time-scale was not a reasonable expectation). Removing these layers, which will inevitably inhibit such a study, was deemed as a significant factor during the planning phase and (actual) collection period. A strategy was developed that targeted speaking to all members of the group each day. This strategy meant that there was a purposeful directed approach to engaging with the full sample, even though it was accepted that on certain days it would be impossible to meet this criteria (due to allocated itinerised tasks etc...)

The building of relationships within the group was an incremental process where activities tended to be the primary focus for bonding/relationship building. As the eight day study progressed the opportunities for longer and deeper conversations emerged. Participants in the study became more engaged and interested in the study as the conversations became more focused on specific issues such as experience, beliefs and personal expectations. The position of helper/pilgrim enabled a consistent form of relationship building where time was spent within the sub-group and specifically with a small group of six (helper) pilgrims. The role of helper meant that trust developed rapidly and the notion of closeness, discussed earlier in this section, was achieved with relative ease. By the end of the eight day pilgrimage, participants were willing to engage in open conversations which were focused on a number of issues pertaining to the research question and objectives of this study.

Question 3

The data presented in this study is a verbatim transcription of the participant interviews, conversations and narratives. Presenting data which captures views, voices, emotions and feelings in any research study is an immense challenge for the qualitative researcher. Closeness to data is a concept not dissimilar to the notions of participant closeness discussed in the earlier sections of this positionality statement. The data collection process in this study relies upon the researcher intuitively guiding conversations towards specific topics/questions/themes. Retaining any level of objectivity in conversational interviews is not without difficulty. Of course one can, and does, claim the value of subjectivity as a central component in qualitative research; the underpinning ideology of qualitative research supports the notion of participant and researcher jointly constructing meaning both during and following the data collection phase. Capturing such abstract notions as emotion and feelings poses several concerns for the qualitative researcher. The meaningful interpretation of data which captures emotions and feelings is a relative concept which is shared between researcher and researched. The subsequent analysis and interpretation of data requires the researcher to immerse oneself in the process of thematic construction; a process which enables a coding exercise to identify suitable areas for consideration, which includes ideas, phrases, words, emotional stimuli and the outpouring of feelings (e.g. perhaps concerning a particular emotive subject or area that is being explored).

Shaping (changing or manipulating) participant data, through the coding/theming stage, is undesirable in qualitative research. Power, in qualitative research, lies predominantly with the researched *"(who are viewed as being the experts on the research topic)"* (Grbich 2012: 5). Importantly, the researcher's voice during the process of collection, analysis and interpretation of data is equally valid. The position of helper/pilgrim in this study enabled the researcher to be placed among the pilgrimage group in a central role that required interaction, negotiation and communication. The data collection phase focused upon participant freedom; especially concerning the notions of conversation, direction and focus. Encouraging such interactions is a key factor in collecting qualitative data that displays the participants' views, voices, emotions and feelings. Responsiveness to ones participants is critical if one is to *"promote rich insights through (examining) personal responses and interpersonal dynamics"* (Finlay 2002: 225).

Of course one cannot underestimate the views, voices, emotions and feelings of the researcher in the research process. This section has already pointed to the disparate theological positions between the researcher and the researched. What is interesting to note however, are the post-pilgrimage effects upon all actors in the research process. If one is to take Finlay's (2002) proclamation seriously, (we must) *"examine the impact of the position, perspective and presence of the researcher"* (225). The impact of pilgrimage has been well documented; among the tourist community there is evidence that pilgrimage can have a significant effect upon individuals (Dora 2012). Applying the principles that pilgrimage will affect and continue to impact upon participants has equal consequences for the researcher. Upon reflection it is apparent that the research undertaken for this study has had a significant and continuing impact upon the author; both in the context of belief systems and the constructs of the Lourdes community (which were underestimated before the fieldwork phase). Immersion in ethnographic research methodologies presents the researcher with the complexities of changed viewpoints, attitudes and norms. Return, in the Turnerian sense, is characterised by intangible remnants acquired during ones experience (pilgrim or touristic / or both). Intangible remnants are however an abstract concept especially when one considers the emotional impact pilgrimage activity stimulates. Pilgrimage, especially to sites associated with miraculous events, are characterised by expectation, mostly commonly associated with healing (of terminal conditions) and intercession (getting closer – at Lourdes – to St Bernadette, Mary, Jesus or God). Expectation, realised or not, has continuous implications for the tourist and pilgrim. If one is to support the notion of unobligated faith then questions of healing are realised, or actualised, across a spectrum ranging from actual healing to psychosomatic experiences of, in a Lourdes sense, being close to Bernadette and Mary (entering/crossing the literal veil).

The researcher and the researched in qualitative research become the metaphorical one. Expectations may differ but it is the omnipresent purpose of visiting pilgrimage sites that generates a community of individuals. The Turnerian thesis predicts relational togetherness at pilgrimage sites supported by a community of believers. While theoretically the Turnerian model presents theological difficulties it does provide the visitor (tourist/pilgrim or researcher!) with a reference point for their own journey, characterised by separation from

everyday existence (geographically and socially) and return with increased knowledge, socio-spiritual capital and most importantly a sense of how each individual plays a part in the Lourdes phenomenon.

3.3.5 Data analysis – Thematic analysis

Defining thematic analysis

The technique used to analyse the data in this study was thematic analysis. Thematic analysis can be best described as a manual coding approach for qualitative data. According to Braun and Clarke (2006) thematic analysis is a method for *"identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data...it minimally organises and describes your data set in rich detail"* (: 6). Thematic analysis is a widely used technique that is often mistaken, or used as a replacement for, other qualitative analysis techniques. Thematic analysis is often viewed as a poorly branded method because it does not always appear to exist as a named technique such as narrative analysis or grounded theory. The selection of the thematic analysis technique in this study is based upon one objective; thematic analysis is flexible and not tied to one particular approach, methodology or philosophy – this factor allows the researcher to 'stay close' to their data as they organise, code and theme. Of course one could argue that there are a number of 'qualitative' techniques that analyse data in a similar way; this of course is relative to how the data were collected and whether or not one is linking data analysis to any specific theoretical framework. The advantage of thematic analysis, over grounded theory for example, is that one does not need to commit, from the outset, to a theoretical 'straightjacket' where the expectation may be to produce a fully *"worked up grounded theory analysis"* (Braun and Clarke 2006: 8). Thematic analysis can be applied to a range of qualitative philosophies and methodologies; this study applies thematic analysis to the interpretivist philosophy – which examines the ways in which *"events, realities, meanings, experiences and so on are the effects of a range of discourses operating within society"* (Braun and Clarke 2006: 9). A full description of the advantages of thematic analysis can be seen in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Advantages of Thematic Analysis

Flexibility.
Relatively easy and quick method to learn, and do.
Accessible to researchers with little or no experience of qualitative research.
Results are generally accessible to educated general public
Useful method for working within the participatory research paradigm, with participants as collaborators.

Can usefully summarise key features of a large body of data, and/or offer a 'thick description' of the data set.
Can highlight similarities and differences across the data set.
Can generate unanticipated insights.
Allows for social as well as psychological interpretations of data.
Can be useful for producing qualitative analyses suited to informing policy development.

Source: Braun and Clarke (2006)

The analysis of the data in this study is based on the Braun and Clarke (2006) six phase framework. This section will present all six phases of the framework and will explain at each stage how the model/technique applies to the data in this study.

N.B. The following six phases are an adaptation of Braun and Clarke's (2006) 'six-phases to thematic analysis' (Table 3.3). A full copy of the thematic analysis technique can be accessed at http://dx.doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Table 3.3 Phases of Thematic Analysis

Phase	**Description of the process**
1 Familiarising yourself with the data:	Transcribing data if necessary, reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2 Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3 Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4 Reviewing themes:	Checking in the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (level 1) and the entire data set (level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5 Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells; generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6 Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Source: Braun and Clarke (2006)

Phase 1 – familiarising yourself with the data

Familiarisation with the data is a key starting point of thematic analysis. Immersion in data involves repeated reading and, reading in an active way; that is an initial read that searches for meanings, patterns and so on. The entire data set needs to be read several times to identify possible patterns. This stage of the analysis is time consuming but must be undertaken thoroughly to ensure a robust study. During the first phase it is advisable to start constructing basic 'coding' notes which can be referred to during later stages of the analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006).

The preliminary process in the first stage is the transcription of the data into a written format. The process of transcription can appear to be time-consuming and laborious but it is an excellent way to become familiar with the data. Some researchers even argue that it should be viewed as a key phase of the data analysis within interpretive qualitative methodologies (Bird 2005). The process of transcribing data for this study was undertaken by the author. Each conversation/interview was processed through a rigorous and verbatim account of all verbal and non-verbal accounts. Attention was paid, during the transcription process, to retain the information in a way as true to the original nuances as possible – this included pauses, punctuation and non-verbal utterances. The close attention to understanding and accurately interpreting the data was the reason the data were transcribed personally and not by an external agency. This element of the process was time consuming but allowed for further immersion, understanding and connection with the data. The transcripts were checked back against the original digital audio recordings several times to ensure accuracy (Braun and Clarke 2006).

Phase 2 – generating initial codes

Phase 2 begins when the transcripts have been read and re-read and the researcher is familiarised with the data. This phase involves the creation of initial basic codes based upon what appears to stand/jump out from the data – what is interesting! The process of initial coding is an important part of the analysis procedure as it helps to organise data into meaningful groups. The coded data, at this stage, are not thematic but simply reflect areas of interest, both specific and broad (Braun and Clarke 2006).

Initial coding for this study was undertaken manually to achieve closeness to the data. The use of computer packages (ATLAS.ti; MAX.qda; NVivo) to code data is not uncommon in qualitative research but it was decided early in the process that working through, and giving equal attention to, each data set item would facilitate, in this study, a richer analysis. The coding technique started by using highlighter pens on copies of the transcripts to identify general codes. Once this process was completed data extracts were coded and then placed into one of the general code categories. This technique meant that all of the data was subject to the coding phase. Individual extracts of data were not, at this stage, limited to one code – if data extracts fitted in numerous coding categories then they were placed therein. The coding stage is of course not without contradiction; an overall conceptualisation is not present at this stage so it is not always possible to determine relationships between codes/themes or to smooth out inconsistencies and competing data items (Braun and Clarke 2006).

To summarise, during the initial coding phase three stages were applied; 1) coding as many themes/patterns as possible; 2) extracts of data were not coded exclusively...a small piece of the surrounding data was kept, if relevant, to ensure the immediate context was not lost, and 3) data was coded into as many themes as they fitted into.

Phase 3 – searching for themes

Phase 3 begins when all of the data have been coded and collated. This phase re-focuses the 'long-lists' of codes which have been identified across the data set into potential themes and collating the relevant coded extracts within the identified themes. According to Braun and Clarke (2006) at this stage one is essentially starting to *"analyse codes, and consider how different codes may combine to form an overarching theme"* (: 19). Thematic analysis enables the researcher to adopt a flexible position where codes can be moved, indiscriminately, between themes to secure best fit. In this study 'best-fit' was achieved by using visual representations; a simple mind-map where themes could be developed by describing codes and then on a separate mind-map organising the codes differently to stimulate alternate/potential theme-piles. At this stage codes generally form themes and sub-themes, some of which will be discarded and some of which will be coded as miscellaneous – especially if the codes do not seem to naturally fit in any of the emerging 'main' themes. This of course may be a temporary solution until an appropriate theme is identified.

The end of phase three concludes with a selection of candidate themes and sub-themes, and all extracts of data that have been coded in relation to them (Braun and Clarke 2006). At this point in this study six themes were identified with two sub-themes containing less relevant or miscellaneous data. It is important at this stage not to discard or ignore any potential/sub themes until one has examined the extracts in more detail to ensure that the themes hold as a) they are, or b) need to be combined, refined, separated or discarded.

Phase 4 – reviewing themes

Phase four involves several stages to ensure your data set is accurately represented and interpreted. Phase four begins when one has devised a set of candidate themes, and it involves the refinement of those themes. As Braun and Clarke (2006) point out, during phase four it will become evident that some candidate themes are not really credible themes, if data are too diverse or if there is a lack of data to support a discrete theme, while others may converge to make one theme from various candidate/sub-themes. What is important at this stage in the process is that the data/themes are distinguishable from each other.

Phase four involves two levels of reviewing and refining the candidate themes. Level one reviews at the level of the coded extracts within each theme to ensure that they form a coherent pattern. At level one it is important to identify candidate themes that do not fit into a coherent pattern; it is at this stage that one would rework themes or create new themes, finding a thematic home for those extracts that do not currently work in an existing, and by this stage relatively confirmed, theme. Once level one has produced a candidate thematic map that adequately reflects the contours of the coded data one is ready to proceed to level two.

Level two involves, in many ways, a similar process to level one but at the entire data set level. At level two one considers the validity of individual themes in relation to the data set but also whether the candidate thematic map reflects the meanings evident in the whole data set. At this level one wants to feel that the candidate themes are reflecting the whole story that is captured in the data set. The technique for achieving thematic accuracy is by re-reading the data set for two purposes; 1) to ascertain that themes work in relation to the data set, and 2) to code any additional data within themes that may have been missed during the earlier phases of the analysis.

If following stage one and two the thematic map fits with the whole data set then one is now ready to move to phase five of the process. Of course if there is a mis-match between candidate themes and whole data set the one must return to the earlier phases of the process to further review and refine the stages. There is however danger to be avoided at this stage especially when one considers that data coding could go on ad infinitum. The researcher must judge when re-coding, reviewing and refining is not adding anything substantial to the process i.e. if the data fits into the codes and subsequent candidate themes then stop! As Braun and Clarke (2006) recommend *"consider it like editing your written work – you could endlessly edit your sentences and paragraphs, but after a few editing turns, any further work is an unnecessary refinement – like rearranging the hundreds and thousands on an already nicely decorated cake"* (: 21).

The conclusion of this stage should give one a fairly good idea of what the different themes are, how they fit together, and the overall story they tell about the data (Braun and Clarke 2006).

Phase 5 – defining and naming themes

Phase five begins when one has constructed a satisfactory thematic map of the full data set. At this stage one should define and refine the themes that will be presented for analysis; that is one should identify the essence of what each theme is about (as well as the themes overall) as well as determining what aspect of the full data set each theme captures. It is important at this stage to ensure that themes are not trying to do too much, or to be too diverse or complex. If this is the case then one should consider whether the earlier stages of the process have been undertaken thoroughly. Phase five is concerned with consolidating the thematic map by not just *"paraphrasing the content of the data extracts presented but by identifying what is interesting about them and why!"* (Braun and Clarke 2006: 22).

Each individual theme requires a detailed analysis at this stage to consider the story that it tells and to consider how it fits into the broader story that is being told about the data. One must ensure that there is not too much overlap between themes and importantly that each theme is relevant to the research question or questions. At this stage one therefore must consider the themes themselves and the themes in relation to one another. It is at this point in the process that one will decide whether sub-themes may be useful for giving structure/hierarchy to a complex or large data set.

Braun and Clarke (2006) recommend that by the conclusion of phase five one should be able to clearly define what your themes are and what they are not. The conclusion of phase five also is a point of refinement for the titles of themes – it is likely that during the process one will develop working titles for themes – this is the point to give names to themes that will be used on the final analysis. According to Braun and Clarke (2006) names of themes need to be concise, punchy, and *"immediately give the reader a sense of what the theme is about"* (: 23).

Phase 6 – producing the report

Phase six begins when one has a fully worked out set of themes. The aim of the analysis/write-up of the data is to tell the complicated story of the data in a way which convinces the audience of its merit and credibility (Braun and Clarke 2006). As Braun and Clarke (2006) eloquently proclaim *"it is important that the analysis, the write up of it, including data extracts, provides a concise, coherent, logical non-repetitive, and interesting account of the story the data tell – within and across the themes...your write up must provide sufficient evidence of the themes within the data – i.e. enough data extracts to demonstrate the prevalence of the theme"* (: 23). The write up in thematic analysis provides paraphrased transcriptions from the themes interspersed with the author's analytic narrative; an analysis which goes beyond simplistic description of data – and makes an argument in relation to the research question.

This study has adopted Braun and Clarke's (2006) six phases of thematic analysis. While some researchers are critical of qualitative research (see Laubschagne 2003) the thematic analysis technique provides a method of analysis that can apply rigour to ones data if one is clear and explicit about what one is doing and the theory and methods that are being applied. The data in this study was continually checked against Braun and Clarke's (2006) 15-point checklist of criteria for good thematic analysis (Table 3.4) to ensure credibility, validity and accuracy of the process.

Table 3.4 A 15-Point Checklist of Criteria for Good Thematic Analysis

Process	No.	Criteria
Transcription	1	The data have been transcribed to an appropriate level of detail, and the transcripts have been checked against the tapes for accuracy.
Coding	2	Each data item has been given equal attention in the coding process.
	3	Themes have not been generated from a few vivid examples {an anecdotal approach}, but instead the coding process has been thorough, inclusive and comprehensive.

	4	All relevant extracts for each theme have been collated
	5	Themes have been checked against each other and back to the original data set.
	6	Themes are internally coherent, consistent and distinctive.
Analysis	7	Data have been analysed – interpreted, made sense of – rather than just paraphrased or described.
	8	Analysis and data match each other – the extracts illustrate the analytic claims.
	9	Analysis tells a convincing and well-organised story about the data and the topic.
	10	A good balance between analytic narrative and illustrative extracts is provided.
Overall	11	Enough time has been allocated to complete all phases of the analysis adequately, without rushing a phase or giving it a once-over-lightly.
Written report	12	The assumptions about, and specific approach to, thematic analysis are clearly explicated.
	13	There is a good fit between what you claim to do, and what you show you have done – i.e. described method and reported analysis are consistent.

	14 15	The language and concepts used in the report are consistent with the epistemological position of the analysis. The researcher is positioned as active in the research process; themes do not just 'emerge'.

Source: Braun and Clarke (2006).

The selection of an appropriate collection and analysis method is critical if one is to achieve the research question or questions. This study has adopted a qualitative methodology with the interest being in the individuals experience rather than generalisibility and measurable information a quantitative study would bring (Crowther 2010). A central aim of this study was to give people a voice to tell a credible, rich and authentic story that seeks to see the world through the eyes of those being researched. The combination of micro-ethnography and thematic analysis enabled a closeness and understanding to/of the participants and data in this study that would not have been possible using more structured qualitative techniques. This study presents a piece of research that is flexible, fluid and above all uses the appropriate techniques and methods to offer a story that enables the reader to better understand the voice of the individual speaking, what tone is being used and how ultimately the narrator will describe, analyse and interpret it (Gray 1984).

3.4 Part Four – Practical and Ethical Issues

This final section concludes the chapter by considering the issues of access and ethics as they relate to this study.

3.4.1 Access

The ability to collect data depends upon gaining access to an appropriate source. In this study the appropriate source was a Diocesan group that the researcher could join as, and become part of, a member of a pilgrimage group. Saunders et al (2009) examine the difficulties of access and conclude that there are generally three reasons why researchers fail to gain access;

1. a lack of perceived value in relation to the work of the organisation/group or individual;
2. the nature of the topic because of its potential sensitivity, or because of concerns about the confidentiality of the information that would be required;
3. perceptions about your credibility and doubts about your competence.

The use of existing contacts is perhaps the most achievable method for gaining access but there are of course issues when one considers sample selection and research strategy. This study is concerned with the subjective meaning of individuals; a phenomena that requires careful interaction between participant and researcher. The decision to approach a group that was unfamiliar was taken early in the design process and was primarily based upon decisions

regarding qualitative validity; especially when one considers how 'known-participants' may have responded to the research process/questions/interaction (Fetterman 2010).

The challenge of gaining access is primarily concerned with acceptance, initially by a person of influence (gatekeeper). In this study the Lancaster Diocese was the third group that was approached, and accepted, to be part of the sample. The first Diocesan group that accepted to be part of the study, in the summer of 2009, retracted their offer three weeks before the pilgrimage and cited 'individual members disagreeing to be participants' as the reason for their withdrawal. The second Diocesan group that accepted to be part of the sample, and subsequently withdrew the offer, cited the same reasons as group one for their withdrawal. The difficulty in securing a Diocesan group was further complicated by the seasonal nature of pilgrimages and also by the complex, and hierarchical, structure of pilgrimage management. The decision to contact the Lancaster Diocesan Pilgrimage Director was based upon accessibility, seniority and the continuity of command (communication would only need to happen through one person). Once acceptance was granted every effort was made to ensure communication and reassurance. Acceptance became more secure once the Pilgrimage Director requested conditions that had to be met by the researcher; the conditions included participant anonymity and confidentiality and that the researcher would become a helper during the eight day pilgrimage. The role of helper significantly contributed to maintaining access and acceptance in the group. As the eight day pilgrimage progressed the researcher became increasingly accepted and integrated as both helper/pilgrim/researcher.

3.4.2 Ethics

According to Saunders et al (2009) ethical concerns emerge as one is planning the research process, seeking access to groups or individuals, and collecting, analysing and reporting your data. Questions of ethics in research revolve around the following two concerns;

- How should we treat the people on whom we conduct research; and
- Are there activities in which we should or should not engage in our relations with them?

(Bryman and Bell 2007).

Ethics therefore refers to the appropriateness of one's behaviour in relation to the rights of those being researched, or those who will be affected by it. The conduct of this studies research was based upon the Social Research Association's Ethical Guidelines published in 2003 and the University of Glamorgan's General Ethical Guidelines for Research and Consultancy published in 2008. A code of ethics provides the researcher with a statement of principles and procedures which one can adopt as a framework of conduct. The Social Research Association's guidelines propose four stages that should be considered when conducting research (Table 3.5). The University of Glamorgan's guidelines propose four areas for consideration when undertaking research (Table 3.6).

Table 3.5 Four stages for Conducting Ethical Research

1. Obligations to Society	*If social research is to remain of benefit to society and the groups and individuals within it, then social researchers must conduct their work responsibly and in light of the moral and legal order of the society in which they practice. They have a responsibility to maintain high scientific standards in the methods employed in the collection and analysis of data and the impartial assessment and dissemination of findings.*
2. Obligations to Funders and Employer	*Researchers' relationship with and commitments to funders and/or employers should be clear and balanced. These should not compromise a commitment to morality and to the law and to the maintenance of standards commensurate with professional integrity.*
3. Obligations to Colleagues	*Social research depends upon the maintenance of* *standards and of appropriate professional behaviour that is shared amongst the professional research community. Without compromising obligations to funders/employers, subjects or society at large, this requires methods, procedures and findings to be open to collegial review. It also requires concern for the safety and security of colleagues when conducting field research.*
4. Obligations to Subjects	*Social researchers must strive to protect subjects from undue harm arising as a consequence of their participation in research. This requires that subjects' participation should be voluntary and as fully informed as possible and no group should be disadvantaged by routinely being excluded from consideration.*

Source: Social Research Association (2003)

Table 3.6 Guidelines for Ethical Research – The FAIR Model

Area for consideration	Indicators
1. Treat everyone **fairly**	*provide everyone with the same consideration and respect* *do not allow any personal views or sympathies we may have to affect the*

	quality of our treatment of each individual *treat individuals differently from each other only when there are differences between them which are relevant to our treatment of them* *when there are relevant differences between individuals, treat them in ways which are appropriate to those differences*
2. Respect the **autonomy** of all individuals	*equip individuals – participants, subjects, researchers and clients - to make informed decisions about what they do and how they wish to be treated* *provide individuals with opportunities for making informed decisions* *do not prevent individuals from acting in accord with their informed decisions.*
3. Carry out research and consultancy with **integrity**	*we have integrity when our actions are integrated with our stated values and objectives such that there is no discrepancy between them – ie when we are honest, and try to do what we say we will do.* *research and consultancies are carried out with integrity when researchers and consultants genuinely strive to achieve the objectives of sound research by ensuring valid methodology, availability of all necessary resources, objective research processes and well-grounded findings. Research which lacks integrity is ethically unacceptable as it not only misrepresents what it claims to be but also mis-uses resources*

	the objectivity and impartiality of research can be threatened if it is in any way dependent on a sponsor, institution or participants who have particular interests or values. Researchers should therefore ensure that the objectives of all parties are clearly articulated at the outset, that any potential conflicts of interest are made clear and that the project is set up in such a way that it is independent of any special interests. It will then avoid being invalidated by "hidden agendas". Consultants should make clear to participants who are paying for the project and the objectives of all parties involved.
4. Seek the best **results**	*whether students or staff, we are ethically obliged to anticipate as far as possible any harm which research and consultancy activities could cause and should then take every reasonable step to ensure they do not do so. If there are unavoidable risks to participants these should be clearly stated in advance.* *what counts as harm may be a matter of debate, but most frequently it is seen as whatever damages the interests of individuals – students, staff, subjects, researchers etc, and the interests of universities, professions and communities in which projects takes place.*

Source: University of Glamorgan (2008)

The more specific discussion concerning ethical issues can be divided into four subsections; 1) ethical issues that affect the research process generally; 2) ethical issues during the design and initial access stages; 3) ethical issues during the data collection stage, and; 4) ethical issues related to the analysis and reporting stages (Saunders et al 2009). The consequence of ethical decision making is largely concerned with the consent of participants. Saunders et al (2009) suggest that consent – informed or otherwise – is not a straightforward matter (Table 3.7). This study adopted a position of full informed consent. The decision to fully inform the participant group was largely due to the fact that a) the Diocesan group would not be familiar with the researcher, and b) the gatekeeper requested a 'statement of intent' was provided for

every participant (Appendices 2). Informed consent implies that all participants involved in the research process are fully aware of how data may be used. In ethnographic research however this is difficult for two reasons;

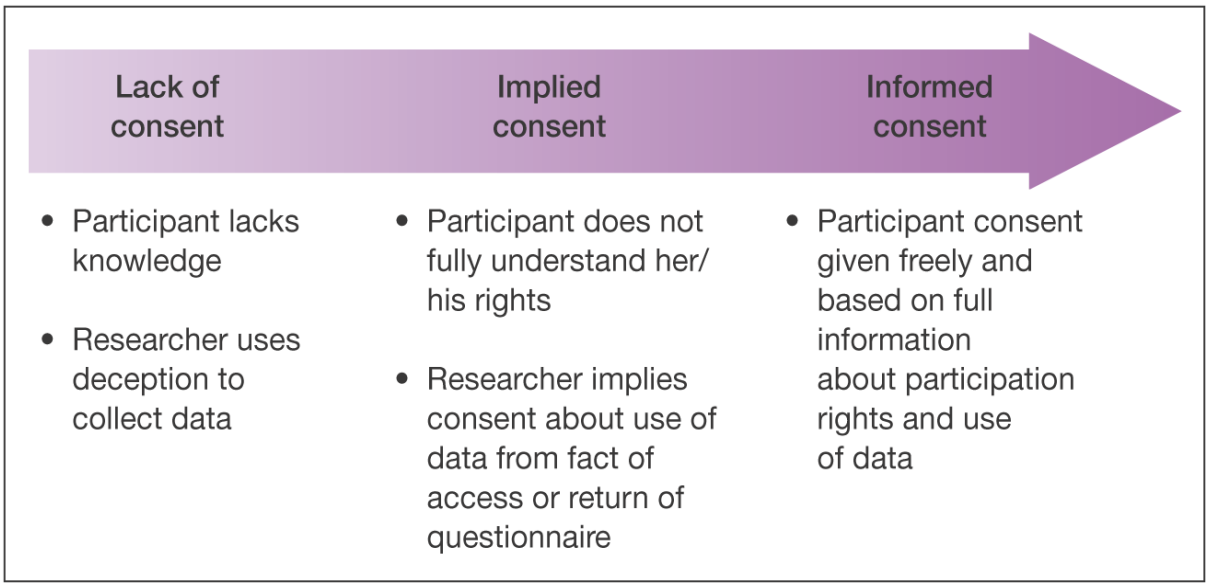
1. It is extremely difficult to present prospective participants with absolutely all the information that might be required to make an informed decision about their involvement.

2. In ethnographic research, the researcher is likely to come into contact with a wide spectrum of people, and ensuring that absolutely everyone has the opportunity for informed consent is not practicable, because it would be extremely disruptive in everyday contexts.

Saunders et al (2009)

The agreement with the Diocesan gatekeeper (the pilgrimage Director) was simply that the researcher would respect the rights of the pilgrimage group. Informed consent was agreed through a verbal agreement. The statement of intent (Appendices 2) was intended as a written agreement which was provided to the Diocesan group prior to the pilgrimage. The statement of intent acted as a reference point for researcher and participant in as much as was possible/achievable/acceptable. The ethical statement was e mailed to all six hundred members of the Lancaster Diocesan pilgrimage group to ensure inclusivity among the immediate research group of twenty four pilgrims and the wider Diocesan group. The Diocesan Pilgrimage Director agreed that the Diocesan name could be used in this study but that all individuals would be anonymised. The names of participants used in this study are pseudonyms to protect confidentiality. Participant contribution in the study was voluntary – all participants were informed that their contribution was voluntary and that they could withdraw from the study at any point. The participant group were fully aware of the aims of the study and the destination of data publication.

Table 3.7 The Nature of Participant Consent



Source: Saunders et al (2009)

Access and ethics present a challenging and critical aspect of conducting research. Without access and the appropriate negotiation of ethics it is unlikely that research will be successful; indeed Saunders et al (2009) claim that *"what might seem like good ideas for research may flounder and prove impractical or problematic"* (: 113) unless access and ethics are considered. The access for this study did prove problematic; the agreement from the Lancaster Diocesan Pilgrimage was the third attempt to secure a group on which to base the data collection. The traditional strategies to gain access (value to group / relationship with gatekeeper) are of course reliant upon sample selectivity and research strategy. The difficulty in securing acceptance from a group that would not gain significant immediate value was a particular challenge. Negotiating access for this study relied upon building trust and confidence. This was achieved through a process of negotiation and ethical consideration. The ethical statement provided the Diocesan group with a reference point regarding the purpose of the research and the intentions of the researcher.

3.5 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has provided a platform for the data collection, analysis and interpretation of this thesis. The aim of the chapter has been to describe and justify the philosophical and methodological approaches and methods used in this study. When one considers the focus of this research it is evident that an interpretivist qualitative approach is most appropriately suited to the overarching philosophy of understanding, constructing and interpreting what factors influence the construction of individual's subjective meaning when visiting pilgrimage shrines. Methodological considerations aside; it is increasingly evident from the pilgrim-touristic literature that there is an alternative paradigm which supports the subjectivity of individuals and how they perceive the act of pilgrimage (both internally and externally). This methodology is reflective of the shifting paradigmatic changes that are evident in both pilgrim (Dora 2012; Andriotis 2011; Collins-Kreiner 2010) and touristic studies (Tribe 2009; Timothy 2006; Sharpley 1999).

The decisions made in the design stage of the research strategy for this study were not solely influenced by current literature. Phase 1 of the fieldwork was used to assess the most appropriate methodology and method for data collection. The visit lasted four days and was primarily used as a mechanism for speaking with pilgrims and ascertaining how a research strategy could be designed/developed which would allow longitudinal access to the same group of pilgrims. The visit also highlighted the problems of random sampling at the shrine, mostly concerning language barriers and access. The decision to use a qualitative micro-ethnographic approach, as the main method for data collection, facilitated a constant participant group where trust and respect could be developed and where themes could be explored incrementally and sequentially.

Philosophical and methodological decisions are not a precise art; they are selected because they are the most reflective of current thinking and/or are the best fit for a specific research project. Easterby-Smith et al (2002) point out that the philosophical and methodological decisions we make help to clarify the research design and can help the researcher to recognise which designs will work and which will not.

The next three chapters of this study now go on to present and analyse the findings. Chapter four presents the themes which developed from the findings which were refined, coded and themed using the thematic analysis technique. Chapter five undertakes a full discussion of the literature and findings. Chapter six concludes the work by considering the contribution of the findings and discussion in relation to the initial research question.

Chapter 4 – Research Findings

Although Lourdes may appear superficially to be a highly organised shrine, where helpers, 'ordinary' pilgrims, and religious and medical specialists collaborate smoothly within an integrated structure, the contests at the primary interface between pilgrims and lay helpers reveal a range of contradictions...the most helpful, pre-analytic image to hold in mind is of a tangle of contradictions, a cluster of coincident opposites.

(Eade and Sallnow 2000:52)

Without pilgrims...the tourism industry of Lourdes would have recently been equal to zero...Lourdes owes its life and prosperity to pilgrims.

(Pierre Lasserre 1930)

4.0 Introduction

This chapter gives an account of two field visits to Lourdes in south west France; a micro-ethnographic account of the annual Catholic Diocese of Lancaster pilgrimage in the summer of 2010 and a convenience sample of both pilgrims and tourists undertaken at the Grotto/Baths, Basilica and cafes/bars in Lourdes during the summer of 2009.

The micro-ethnographic account took place in the summer of 2010 during an eight day pilgrimage to Lourdes with the six hundred members (total) of the Diocese of Lancaster annual pilgrimage. Micro-ethnography is an accepted (Fetterman 2010; Saunders et al 2009; Bryman and Bell 2007; Kutsche 1998) methodology that facilitates shorter periods of time spent among research groups in an attempt to achieve a more closely defined cultural understanding. Fetterman (2010), in a more general sense, uses the image of storytelling as a means of defining ethnography; it is about telling a credible, rigorous and authentic story, it gives a voice to people in their own context, typically relying on verbatim quotations and a 'thick' description of events (Fetterman 2010). It is worth noting at this point that this micro-ethnographic study has adopted Fetterman's (2010) principle of ethnographic conversational techniques which facilitate an exploration of rich, untapped sources of data not necessarily mapped out in the research design (ibid). This allows multiple interpretations of reality and alternative interpretations of data according to Fetterman (2010). This is an important juncture in this study; by immersing oneself in ones research setting it allows an interactive and cooperative relationship to be developed between the investigator and the people being researched (Christou et al 2009). It is, according to Fetterman (2010), the ability of the ethnographer to interact and co-operate that helps to better understand the native's point of view, thus enabling a better story. It is, according to Gray (1984), a better story that enables the reader to better understand the voice of the individual speaking, what tone is being used and how ultimately the narrator will describe, analyse and interpret it.

The micro-ethnographic account was undertaken with a sub-group of twenty four pilgrims selected on the basis of hotel location. The twenty four pilgrims were located at the Hotel St Georges, a popular pilgrimage accommodation in the centre of Lourdes. The group consisted of sixteen females and eight males across a range of age groups. The group was randomly formed but did include two married couples and a Priest who was the sub-group leader. The majority of the eight days at Lourdes was spent with the sub-group; although there was also

opportunity for interaction with 1) other members of the Diocese of Lancaster pilgrimage group, and 2) pilgrims from other Diocesan groups, including those from countries other than the UK.

The convenience sample used in this study was undertaken in the summer of 2009 during four days interviewing at three locations in Lourdes; the Grotto/Baths, the Basilica and the cafes/bars in the town. The convenience sample is possibly the most common method for collecting data as it relies solely upon selecting those cases that are easiest to obtain for your sample (Saunders et al 2009; Jennings 2001). Unlike the traditional approaches to convenience sampling, this study did not continue the process of interviewing until a pre-required sample had been achieved. The rationale for this pre-ethnographic study was to explore, with an indiscriminate number of randomly selected participants, a selection of themes including motive and meaning - both individual and shared. The convenience interviewing was the first phase in this study and was intended to act as a piloting exercise upon which to base thematic aide memoirs for the larger micro-ethnographic study.

The convenience interviews took place with a range of pilgrims/tourists. The sample included leaders, helpers, pilgrims and those with basic touristic motivations but no apparent religious affiliations. The convenience methodology was used to access groups and individuals that may not have been fully represented in the 2010 micro-ethnographic study such as tourists, Brancardiers/helpers or those in charge of certain rituals/ceremonies. The convenience sample also included two prolonged conversational interviews with 1) a serving Priest who was leading a small group of pilgrims, and 2) with an experienced pilgrim who had visited Lourdes, on pilgrimage, eleven times.

Through four emergent themes the study describes 1) the way in which meaning and purpose is constructed when visiting a pilgrimage site, and 2) the touristic value that has been placed upon hybrid pilgrim-touristic sites. The central debate in this study is the individual search for subjective meaning. Current understanding in pilgrim-touristic research stresses what pilgrims are saying about their experience before, during and after the experience. This is a radical move from the traditional perspectives put forward in the early study of pilgrim-touristic research (1970s – 1990s) which emphasises the objective, or the pilgrimage, as the force of experience (see Smith 1992; Stoddard 1996). Current thinking (Collins-Kreiner 2010 a & b; Andriotis 2011) alienates the view that it is the external marker or operator that marks the objective and thus is the primary influencer. This may have complex consequences for both pilgrim and tourist as the touristification and commercialisation of pilgrim sites continues to alienate the profane from the sacred and may in fact be the point at which one, the pilgrim, is separated from the other, the tourist. The contestation of dual space continues to be a central struggle between the tourist operator and the church authorities; although in postmodernistic society it may be more difficult to extract the motives of the pilgrim or tourist as indeed they may have similar perceptions, characteristics and expectations.

The subjective proposition does however escape the determinism of popular mass tourism created by the external institutions and practices/apparatus of commercial tourism; it offers the pilgrim-tourist an alternative gaze into a subjective reality where they, and their

subjective constructions, are the central focus. While current research in pilgrim/touristic studies may advocate the subjective experience of pilgrimage there remains strong evidence to the contrary when examining the relationship between organised pilgrimages and church authority. It is at this point that the boundaries become more difficult to measure: where objectivity and subjectivity become increasingly blurred.

It is interesting to note that many of the pilgrims that contributed to this study had visited Lourdes at least ten times; in some cases there was evidence of in excess of forty visits. The sample of participants in this study, and previous work undertaken by the author [1], would present strong quantitative and qualitative evidence that pilgrimage is an iterative activity. Table 4.1 is taken from a sample of twenty three pilgrims on pilgrimage at Walsingham [2] and Lourdes during the summer of 2010. The pilgrimage visits column refers to repeat visits to singular sites and one off visits to other pilgrimage sites.

Table 4.1 Frequency of Pilgrimage Visits

No of Participants	Pilgrimage Visits
4	1-5
6	6-10
7	11-15
3	16-20
3	20+

4.1 Research Findings

The data in this study are organised around four emergent themes which now form the structure for this chapter.

9. The authority of the church and pilgrimage conflict
10. The contestation of dual space
11. The pull factors - experiencing Marian mysticism, cures and miracles - the meaning of pilgrimage
12. The testimonies of pilgrims – a confession of truth

4.1.1 The authority of the church and pilgrimage conflict

A notable theme emerged which formulated a view of ecclesiastical authority operating as, and influencing, the marker of the pilgrimage; the disseminator of knowledge pertaining to

the site and thus the dominant control and authority force. The church authority then becomes the critical influencer, the marker, in the process of experience as the sight is not marked by the seer but rather is an expectation of how the church perceives one should view the experience, both internally and externally. The view of the church controlling the objective process of the experience was commonly reflected in non-church attendees (the tourist) and religious attendees (the pilgrim). This view does not concur with current research on pilgrimage which claims that it is no longer the marker, this could be church authority or tourist operator, that sets the sight or is the critical influencer but it is the pilgrim that subjectively marks the site and beyond; both the immediate gaze and the construction of meaning beyond the immediate gaze (see MacCannell 2001; Collins-Kreiner 2010; Poria, Airey and Butler 2003 & 2004). This view is however in direct contrast to the actual experience that was reported by religiously motivated participants. The role of the Catholic Church in framing the experience was perceived as highly relevant by respondents;

...It is a prescriptive church with certain rituals, people who are very much in charge and want you to know who they are...

...if you kind of go on the occasional Sunday you are now talking about a six or seven day stint which is a lot of devotion...

...but you are expected to take part in it...

...and quite frankly some people cannot stand it...

...and I just say to people that is part of it, and if you are not up for it? Then...

(Male 50+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Grotto at Lourdes)

Indeed this view was reflected among pilgrims:

...and one other point that is an important factor; the whole of the Catholic church is very very authoritarian, there are Bishops in charge of it, there is usually a chaplain with you and there are priests there, now they control and someone like yourself who would not know, well I have seen clashes, very immature actually, there are human clashes like that, it's not all sweetness and so on, there are quarrels between adults that you try and deal with...

(Male 60+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Grotto at Lourdes)

The view that it would only be a chaplain or a priest that leads a pilgrimage was contested by some participants. It was agreed however that there would always be a leader that would have control of the group. Control of the group is often contested;

...There's a group leader, well it could be you it could be me, and the thing about smaller groups is, and again this is a judgment, a lot of chaps are laid back and will say oh that's Patrick, I fit in with him, and he tells me what to do...and others will say well hang on a minute...

(Male 50+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Grotto at Lourdes)

An interesting point to note is that;

... the helpful thing that will happen normally is groups again that meet will have post-mortems to try and sort out any misunderstandings...

(Male 50+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Grotto at Lourdes)

The findings on group leadership would concur with the church perspective. There is however a disparity between the church view and the pilgrim view. The respondents who perceived group leadership as an element of 'control' commented on the expectations one may have when undertaking a pilgrimage experience. The ecclesiastical view of building a relational benefit among a group of pilgrims parallels church life 'back home' where community, structure and emotional security are dominant factors. This would strengthen the Turners (1978) view of Lourdes as a centre that creates a unique communitas, a sense of focusing on the everyday symbolic benefits that visiting Lourdes can provide. As a Priest with the Lancaster Diocese remarked;

...picking up the threads for everyday life...pulling it all together...that is what a good pilgrimage director will do...that is what we are taught to do...that is what a tour operator cannot do...not the same as a Priest...

(Male 40+ - Priest – Personal interview – Grotto at Lourdes)

This view reflected the sub-groups within the Diocesan pilgrimage. It is interesting to note that the sub-groups were approx twenty five in number and all were assigned a spiritual leader, most usually a priest or one of the official Clergy associated with the Diocese. Group construction was given as a potential stimulant of how sub-groups interacted within a relatively artificial community and with a leader who may have differing motivations and expectations. As one group leader explained;

...how the pilgrimage group come together would be key, sometimes a parish decides they are going to go on a pilgrimage together – Bridgend parish and the Catholic parish in Ely in Cardiff – they have traditions of going on pilgrimage with their priest so that would give a coherency as it is a pre-existing group of people. Others who belong to a particular religious organisation and might not know the other members because they come from different towns, but they will have a shared vision, a shared spirituality which cements their understanding of why they are doing this pilgrimage...

(Male 40+ - Priest – Personal interview – Grotto at Lourdes)

However, group construction is not one-dimensional;

...on other pilgrimages again that advertise in the religious press which are basically package holiday firms with a religious spin – the people who go on those will not know each other and there's probably going to be less coherence beyond the general desire to visit that country or that particular shrine on the tour...

(Male 40+ - Priest – Personal interview – Grotto at Lourdes)

The tourist view of control was fixated on why people felt they needed to keep coming back. Commonly, reference was made to the relationship between helpers and the sick. A number of tourist respondents were able to identify the hierarchical structures within the church authorities;

...We met one of the helpers, youngsters, average age of about eighteen, they have to pay £300 to come here and then work all week. They cook, clean and then care for the sick – why would they do that? We spoke to one man from Bolton who was a helper. He had this badge which meant he was a helper – his badge was ripped off him – he wouldn't say why. He has to appeal in November. Now he comes here, pays, is told what to do, and he was

telling me that he is having doubts about the clique in the higher order. This man felt that Lourdes was getting worse and that the clique in the higher order was controlling the whole thing (experience)...

(Male 60+ Tourist – Grotto at Lourdes)

Referring to the example above;

...I think it is an absolute disgrace...

(Female 50+ Tourist – Grotto at Lourdes)

This view was reflected among the tourist group. When asked if conflict, power relationships and cliques reflect our everyday lives;

...but it shouldn't here though should it...

(Male 50+ Tourist – Grotto at Lourdes)

The tourist group continued by questioning the need to come to Lourdes, and in particular the motive;

...this is not right (the veneration of Mary at Lourdes). Why can't you do this at home? Who says you have to come here...

(Female 50+ Tourist – Grotto at Lourdes)

...If you truly believe in it and you have faith...well God is supposed to be everywhere so...this is not sacred, there is more spiritual peace to be found in your own church. Why would you come here?...

(Female 50+ Tourist – Grotto at Lourdes)

Interestingly the tourist group were able to differentiate between themselves and those pilgrims with religious affiliations. This is an important admission;

...but then again we are not religious are we...

(Female 50+ Tourist – Grotto at Lourdes)

Contestation at pilgrim sites is not uncommon. There was evidence among participants that conflict reflects the struggle between power and resistance, and between collective order and freedom for individual expression (see Eade and Sallnow 2000). This may reveal contradiction between pilgrims, helpers and the church authorities. The following extract demonstrates that even among pilgrims there is conflict when the itinerary becomes the central focus of the experience;

...when I went to the Holy Land, although I knew some people on it, it was organised by XYZ Pilgrimage Ltd, and a few of us (friends) went, there were lots of misunderstandings on that, we were a disparaged group, a very small group of 12 or 14 in 1980-something – a fantastic trip when I think about it even now, but lots of different conflicts and I particularly remember when we were out there, there was a Catholic version and an Anglican one, and I and Ed Reagan knew there were some from the Cathedral at the time so we were with them, and then there were some from Dinas Powys and some from Bristol, now they had thought they were signing up for a holiday and there were all kinds of misunderstandings, they were not happy at all, and ...the Magnificent said we should do this today and they kind of said well we should have found out more, we thought it was a holiday, a go as you please and there would be the usual rep – they completely misconstrued going to the Holy Land, it

wasn't going to Spain or even to Lourdes because as you know, the Holy Land, short time there – pack it in – and at the time they were saying woh, you had to get it done and of course they were not happy. Well I thought it was fantastic but these four they kept saying, well we are not happy but we have to go – well there was this conflict – well I think the rep said to them the clue was in there 'pilgrimage' but of course they didn't pick up on the word, they just thought we want to go there and they thought pilgrimage or whatever it is called but think it is a holiday...

(Male 50+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Personal Interview)

Contestation at Lourdes commonly occurs when pilgrims are expected to participate;

...there is this magnificent in darkness thing, the torchlight procession with people walking around, but you are expected to take part in it, and people will respond, hey hang on a minute what is this? And you can see that some people are a bit taken aback by participating rather than spectating...

...and once or twice we would have groups and I would say what is wrong and they would say oh dad does not want to come to mass, he does not like it and you would say well ok, but that then would probably be their only trip because, not that they would be barred or anything daft like that but they would have misunderstood... so I try to give a realistic spin on it particularly that, and I hate the term, that lapsed type of people who may not be so regular in church attendance...

...there are social aspects but there are religious observances like some people may not like...

...there may be formal morning prayer, most groups will have the central thing, the Mass, every day, well if not every day there may be a day off, there are masses certainly at Lourdes, there is the torchlight in the evening, the big procession which is magnificent, there is an expectation that if you go to Lourdes, not all the time, but it is a religious thing within the discipline...

(Male 50+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Personal Interview)

Participation in religious activities is a central determinant in contestation at Lourdes. A number of pilgrims joining the main Lancaster pilgrimage had either a) made their own way to Lourdes, or b) were moving between pilgrimage Dioceses activities. This individualistic approach was apparent among a number of individuals interviewed enabling participation in selected activities;

...we came on our own to Lourdes even though we belong to the Lancaster Diocese...

(Male 50+ Female 50+ Regular church attendees and experienced pilgrims – Hotel St Georges Lourdes)

...we have been to the Liverpool Mass and last night joined the Welsh pilgrimage for the torchlight procession...

(Female x 2 60+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrims – Hotel St George Lourdes)

Organised Diocese pilgrimage itineraries reflect the high level of participation expected of each pilgrim. An example of a typical pilgrimage itinerary demonstrates the level of commitment required to partake in all activities (see Box 4.1). The pilgrimage itinerary is reflective of the wider examples of church ritual and observance. The role of the church in framing the pilgrimage itinerary complements the Palmer and Gallagher (2007) notion of decline in traditional church settings being replaced by other forms of religious celebration, namely pilgrimage; celebrations that are framed symbolically to reflect church observances which include the Blessed Sacrament (Eucharist), anointing of the sick and adoration (worship). The sense that some pilgrims will attend pilgrimage as a substitute for church may

be wholly individualistic but also may be out of a perceived sense of social duty (see Palmer and Gallagher 2007).

Box 4.1 Lourdes Diary of Activities – The Diocese of Lancaster

Friday 23rd July – Friday 30th July 2010

Friday – 8.30am MASS celebrated in the Chapel Notre Dame de Doulours
Saturday – 10.30am MASS of welcome celebrated in St Bernadette's Church
Sunday – 8.30am Sunday MASS celebrated for all the Archdiocesan pilgrims in the Grotto. 5.00pm Eucharistic Procession and Adoration. 9.00pm A service of Reconciliation celebrated in St Bernadette's Church
Monday – 2.30pm MASS celebrated in the Rosary Basilica. 5.00pm Eucharistic Procession and Adoration. 9.00pm Torchlight Marian Procession
Tuesday – 10.30am MASS celebrated in St Bernadette's Church. 2.30pm Stations of the Cross.
Wednesday – 9.30am The International MASS celebrated in St Pius X Basilica. 3.00pm MASS celebrated at Bartres. 9.00pm A Holy Hour with Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament celebrated at St Pius X Basilica.
Thursday – 10.00am MASS of Anointing of the sick celebrated at St Pius X Basilica. 3.00pm A farewell service celebrated at the Esplanade Altar.
Friday – 9.30am MASS celebrated at St Joseph's Chapel
In addition every day there is Eucharistic Procession and Adoration at 5.00pm and a Torchlight Marian Procession at 9.00pm.

3

A number of respondents pointed to feelings of duty, observance and ritual as the reason for participating in all church organised pilgrimage activities;

...pilgrimage...it is from childhood into young adulthood and now more ancient adulthood...that is why we come...we have always come...

(Male 50+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Grotto at Lourdes)

...especially with Lourdes you know there will be those that have been twenty times or have been thirty times! So there are long serving helpers who have been, well I do not want to be sceptical Simon but I know Dominic for example who has been involved with the children's hospice, you get very devoted people but I can understand non-church people saying well you know you don't need that...

(Male 40+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Grotto at Lourdes)

...I have been to Lourdes three times to work as a volunteer...this is the right thing to do...I will come back again to work...

(Female 40+ Working at The Lourdes Information Centre)

..this is my fifth time in Lourdes and my fourth time volunteering with hospitality...my work is to try and make people feel welcome here...that is why I come...

(Female 20+ Welcome Volunteer – Grotto at Lourdes)

...there is not a lot of time to do things here, not with all the work we have to do...

(Male 20+ Welcome Volunteer – Grotto at Lourdes)

The expectation that one should 'take part' when visiting Lourdes provides a template that encourages the Turners (1978) Communitas – the living embodiment of togetherness, a relational quality of full unmediated communication, even communion, between definite and determinate identities (ibid). Communitas may be the outcome of forced itineraries, the manifestation of a human bond in a setting which is liminal, temporal and multilayered. Communitas is the antithesis of contestation but may give some indication of the complex underlying relationships at Lourdes. The evidence may be contrary to the Turners (1978) sense of living Communitas in Lourdes but equally there is good evidence of connection between pilgrims;

...well straight away I am not behaving like I do here (at home)...

(Male 40+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Grotto at Lourdes)

... I remember the first time going up towards St Peter's and seeing the people and you are now part of this massive outfit...

...where far from not mentioning, it's actually the whole point about trying to communicate with each other, in many languages, masses of people from all over the world...

...and one of the last couple of times we went to Lourdes, Poland and many other countries had opened up so they were now in-fluxing as well. So now you think hey and I found, and I am sure other people feel this, you do get a tremendous boost now of not being this very quiet minority, saying well I go to church and...you are actually able to walk about quite openly and take part in vast services and be part of it...

... It's very energising...

(Male 50+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Grotto at Lourdes)

Evidence of communitas can be visibly seen at Lourdes; both at the Grotto where pilgrims interact on a spiritual level and in the bars where pilgrims, tourists and local residents interact in a temporal and transitory existence. A Priest interviewed at the Grotto at Lourdes pointed to other factors that influence the generation of communitas. Reference was made to the way in which group dynamics are formed. Although the factors discussed here may be the antithesis of the suggestion that conflict and contestation characterises daily life at Lourdes, it is worth noting the context in which the following remarks are made i.e. the communal motivations focused upon spiritual affiliations;

...I've experienced that (communitas) – when you have a group of people working on shared tasks with a common religious viewpoint, well that does form a bond with each other and makes it a very enjoyable experience of being together, working together, and solving problems together...

...when I did the Lourdes pilgrimages, I did two, the year I left Oxford (referring to University) and the following year. There was a group of Oxford students and Cambridge students together, they would go out and volunteer as shrine staff for the week, and I was persuaded to do that. I went largely because I had never been to Lourdes before...

...and I had the money and I had the time in the summer holidays and so on...

...now the group we were with bonded to a certain extent because of that sharing the outward journey together, shared tasks to do together. Now the members who went were asked to make a commitment to come back each year and be part of the shrine staff...

...If it is a group that travels and shares the journey from the beginning together that group dynamic can certainly work, it's not the same when you are doing things individually...

(Male 40+ - Priest – Personal interview – Grotto at Lourdes)

The shrine at Lourdes in fact demonstrates the (co)existence of a variety of disparate oppositions. The (co)existence at Lourdes is itself a complex phenomenon; a dichotomy between those seeking a 'pure' sacred experience and those who have purely secular expectations. If we were to take the Turners (1978) view of pilgrimage life at Lourdes literally then we may expect to witness complete Communitas; something of Bernadette tincturing the social-mileu of Lourdes (ibid). The reality of Lourdes is that it is a place dominated by a multiplicity of expectations [4]. Reader (2007) recounts the changing ecclesiastical expectations of Lourdes as a pilgrim centre rather than a Catholic shrine as a means of *"restating the Catholic Church's authority in a secularising age"* (Reader 2007: 219). The restating of authority may be in response to decline in church attendance evidenced in much of western European Christian faiths. The findings of this study appear to display consistency with the Tear Fund (2007) churchgoing research which reports on the increasing decline in UK church attendance contrasted with the Tear Fund (2007) claims that, *"research which is beginning to show that there is more, far more going on out of apparent sight in everyday life in Britain today. At times of national and individual crisis, for example, we see faith bubbling out from under the surface...our churches and cathedrals become places of pilgrimage...people create impromptu shrines* [5] *to remember the passing of those of special meaning to them... Perhaps our religious past is beginning to catch up with us..."* (ibid). The evidence reported by Tear Fund (2007) may reflect a wider disengagement with organised authoritative religious ritual, observance and power structures. As one, notable, participant pointed out;

...I think in the cultural shift that has gone through and is labelled modernism and then postmodernism, there's a growing scepticism of authority, so people looking for spiritual answers are less and less likely to listen to a Pope or an Archbishop of Canterbury, or someone like me wearing a collar, on the assumption that we've got answers more valid than any others – it's much more, I'll search for this and I'll find my own answer, and if you are looking for answers and you don't want to talk to a person, where might you go to...well, maybe the next obvious place is either to go to a place of worship, to sit in silence and to ponder your own meaning...or maybe to say well lots of people go to this pilgrimage place maybe I'll find something on the journey as well...

(Male 40+ - Priest – Personal interview – Grotto at Lourdes)

4.1.2 The contestation of dual space

The traditional view of pilgrims and tourists, visiting sites of religious significance, has focused upon each group as conceptual opposites. Postmodernistic travel may in contemporary pilgrim-touristic theory offer a more blurred version of the polarised theories of Smith (1992) [6], Stoddard (1996) and others that support this theory. The contestation of dual space occurs when two or more groups attach their own value upon a site [7]. Religious

sites have held appeal for travellers for many thousands of years so it would be difficult to apportion the shifting conceptualisation of sacred sites to the broader theoretical junctures of postmodernity. This proposition does however present a difficulty in interpreting what value one can extract from constructions that may be influenced by such diverse emotional features as attachment, kinship and meaning. The purpose for visiting sacred sites is diverse and it may only be when one has experienced visiting such sites that one becomes fully able to distinguish between the divisions that separate the motive, expectation and experience that has been constructed prior to visitation;

...well yes – take ten pilgrims and you will find ten different motivations for going, from those who are going because they want to pray, from those who are going because they are looking for a cure, to those who are going because their mates persuaded them...

...the essential thing at the beginning of the group experience is to mark the fact that you are leaving your everyday lives and to challenge people to think both about what they want to leave behind, and what they want to bring with them...

...obviously for us as Catholics it is in the context of a relationship with God...so...come before God...what do you want to ask God to do for you, or what question do you want God to answer...or what do you want to offer God by going on this pilgrimage, and to be aware of that from day one, and you carry that on the journey, meanwhile leaving the baggage of everything else at home (behind)...

...be conscious of what you are bringing back from the pilgrimage, re-visit the prayer that you first made, what has God done for you through this pilgrimage experience...

(Male 40+ Priest leading a small group of pilgrims – Lourdes Bar)

The comments above are reflective of the Turnerian (1978) model of pilgrimage which supports full disengagement from everyday ritual combined with a return characterised by items one may 'bring back'. Of course the terminology which describes 'items' is not to be confused with touristic souvenirs but rather may be referring to spiritual emblems such as an increase in spiritual knowledge, power and understanding. There are of course more abstract items that pilgrims may return with such as evidence of miracle or healing, although this may be difficult to observe and in many cases will be psychosomatic. This in fact is a phenomenon reported by the Lourdes Medical Bureau.

A group of tourists interviewed at the Grotto at Lourdes shared very different perceptions and expectations to those of the Priest. It may indeed be the case that the pre-setting of the pilgrimage objectives, highlighted in the comments put forward by the Priest, are the differentiator between those with purely religious motives and those with a mixed set of motives but predominantly secular. The tourist expectation when visiting Lourdes quantifies Urry's (1990) view of the tourist as unable to see beyond the immediacy of the site;

...this is commercial crap...YES...commercial crap is what it is...

(Male 50+ Tourist – Grotto at Lourdes)

...the shops sell the same old tat...

(Male 50+ Tourist – Grotto at Lourdes)

...It stuns me every time I come here...It is like Blackpool with Crucifixes...that's the only way I can describe it...

...this is just exploitation of someone's beliefs...

(Female 40+ Tourist – Grotto at Lourdes)

...there are people over there who believe that is Holy Water, but I bet you it's not Holy Water...that's the water that's been blessed over there...

(Male 50+ Tourist – Grotto at Lourdes)

...to be honest this is a really nice part of the world to visit, especially if you like cycling or rafting – that sort of thing – but what goes on here is so wrong...it just strikes me as being so wrong...

(Female 40+ Tourist – Grotto at Lourdes)

If the tourist's expectation of Lourdes is a site that is dominated by commercialism then it would be logical to surmise that the expectation is reflected in how one experiences the visit;

...I think it is an absolute disgrace...

...If you truly believe in it and you have the faith it shouldn't be commercialised and hyped up and money made out of it like it is...

...there's nothing sacred or special anymore...

...Is it a desperate belief that brings you here because you are that ill or what...

...but God is supposed to be everywhere and Christianity is not about who can have the biggest candle...that's not how it works...

...and it's wrong...there is nothing sacred anymore (repeat)...

...these people must get something out of it or they wouldn't come...

...maybe it is because I am not desperately ill...

...there's more peace and more inner peace and spiritual peace to be found in your own church...

(Female 40+ Tourist – Grotto at Lourdes)

A notable comment from another individual in this group;

...cynical maybe (referring to the comments above) but you know...these guys (referring/pointing to the pilgrims) must get something out of it...

...I don't dislike the place, don't get me wrong...I'm just not religious in any way, shape or form...

(Male 30+ Tourist – Grotto at Lourdes)

It is interesting to note here that the individual who made this comment was with a small group of tourists spending a short period of time at Lourdes. The comment infers that pilgrims are 'getting something out of the visit'. This comment may actually, if taken literally, imply that the tourist gets 'nothing at all' out of their visit.

The findings of the study appear to be consistent with Urry's (1990) and Sharpley's (1999) dated predictions that the 'postmodern' tourist is trapped in a circle of determinism; as though the tourist is trapped in an hermeneutic circle searching for the signs that denote the site – a capturing of those images which characterise the site – At Lourdes this may reflect the immediacy of the site from a tourist perspective;

...it is what it is – this is kind of what we expected...

(Male 30+ Tourist – Grotto at Lourdes)

When asked if they would return to the area (the tourist group) they said no; even though two members of the group had visited Lourdes on numerous occasions. Asked why they had come;

...you have to do it...you have to tick it off the list...

...we have come here and found out about the history of the site and why people come here...

...just in case we are missing out...

(Male 50+ Tourist – Grotto at Lourdes)

Another group member commented;

...well it is my first time...there is a sense of fascination...

One of the individuals in the group of tourists had been to Lourdes on two previous occasions;

...I have brought other people here and I always maintain the same thing...

...I walk them through, show them everything that they need to see and let them make their own decision about what they see...

...you know ours is not to force our opinions on others...

...if they like it then {alls} good, if they don't then whatever...

(Male 30+ Tourist – Grotto at Lourdes)

Another member of the group referred to his own religious background but did not quantify the statement;

...my parents were chapel goers...what would they think of this place...I don't think they would think too highly of it...

(Male 50+ Tourist – Grotto at Lourdes)

This view stimulated a discussion among the group that questioned the formal rituals at Lourdes. The discussion became focused upon the type of activities which pilgrims were engaged with. It is worth noting that during this conversation the daytime procession to the baths at Lourdes was taking place. The following comments were vocalised among the group;

...I can't help but wonder when you see these huge candles, you know one hundred, two hundred, and three hundred euros for a candle...has their own church got a hole in the roof that possibly needs fixing but they are out here spending it on a candle...

...it's harsh but fair though don't you think...

...yes that's right - it is true...

...I just can't understand it here – it all seems to be big candles – big processions...

...that shouldn't be what it's about...

(Group comments – Tourists – Grotto at Lourdes)

The negative attitude among the group of tourists was focused on both Lourdes the site and the pilgrim. This view may be a reflection of expectation; an outpouring of response to the institutionalised arrangements that are made for tourists. As one pilgrim commented;

...the word I would use is curiosity...a number of times in Lourdes (not so much in Rome) if people heard us speaking in English, I would say now the people who were tourists visiting, and they would start talking to us. And it was curiosity. You know what is this place? I presume, and certainly if they were British, you know we had asked them, they had travelled from xyz and they had camped, that kind of thing because they had heard of this place...

...I can remember you know (picture) this one family who got totally caught up in this malaise of thousands of people and they kind of saw us, I think we were waiting or something, we had these t shirts on and they could see our badges, oh and that is right some of the transport we bring here is left hand drive and I think they saw the logo and they came over by the van and were chatting with us, and we said we were going down to the cafe and so they sat down and had a chat with us. Now they were surprised, taken aback even curious – and what I can gather was they had heard about this place but didn't really know what they were letting themselves in for. These people came in the afternoon and got caught up in this madcap type thing – I counted numbers you know of the people who were just curious you know – we were in the south of France, we kind of bumped into this place or we came deliberately and there was this touristy element and I think some of the companies (tourist operators) do Lourdes in half a or a full day and then stay a night at one of the hotels, and the hotels would say well if you are curious get a guide to take you around ...oh yes there are lots of tourists in Lourdes...

(Male 50+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Personal Interview Grotto at Lourdes)

Respondents were asked about the differing expectation of pilgrims who had travelled to Lourdes with organised groups and those smaller groups of tourists who had travelled to Lourdes independently. What emerges from this discussion is an interesting perspective of the segregation, both physically and perceptually, between those who perceive themselves as pilgrims and those who perceive themselves as tourists;

...the tourists are here to 'do the churches' – I couldn't quantify it but there are a lot, and they are not only there for touristy reasons – although there is actually a lot of inter-mixing, tourists there perhaps with no religious belief – but I mean this is reflected in the church I go to back home where occasionally a group will wander in and want to look around – I would go along with the view that people have become interested in this sort of thing. To be honest Simon I do not want to be partisan but if you are a Catholic you will look for the Catholic churches and cathedrals...you know you are going to get a lot of visitors from the Catholic world visiting Catholic sites and maybe because they may see a Catholic Bishop or whatever, but certainly in Lourdes you will get those people who have been brought up Catholic and are called cultural Catholics, they don't really get involved anymore but they have this abiding interest in it and say well if asked we will say we are...and we will

go sometimes (to church). To go back to the original point you do see a lot of tourists in Lourdes and for some of them it is a shock to see some very severely handicapped people...I can remember in particular an Easter pilgrimage to Lourdes which flew from Cardiff airport a few years ago, I did not go on this pilgrimage but I helped at the airport, and I was told that when the plane returned there were people at the airport saying what is going on, loads of people in wheelchairs, loads of kids, loads of people in uniforms...there was a huge curiosity about what was happening and in my opinion this is what is different between us and the tourists...

...what is interesting to watch is people (tourists) who are not used to this sort of thing suddenly at Lourdes and seeing bits of smoke and hearing different words people say, the tourists then say - oh we will stay here and watch this and of course there are the beautiful buildings and things – so yes there are tourists...

...sometimes the tourists are quite emotional with it all...

(Male 50+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Personal Interview Grotto at Lourdes)

The respondent who made these comments proceeded to consider the context of his own visits to Lourdes both as pilgrim and tourist;

...myself and a couple of guys of similar age, we would go out to wherever we could get to without badges because sometimes you can wear gear and just be in a French bar with other French guys having a drink. We would talk to them in whatever French we could muster and say we are from Britain, we would make certain that we did not give an impression that we were pilgrims because you wanted two things, firstly to get away from it for that evening but also to mix, to be in France, to enjoy, to have a few beers and unwind and not be on pilgrimage. Obviously if you went into Lourdes they may guess that you are on a pelerin (on pilgrimage) but we just wanted to have a little break...

Why do we come to Lourdes? Well that is simple...To pray and to play...

(Male 50+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Personal Interview Grotto at Lourdes)

Asked if it was anonymity he wanted...

...yes because you just have a name badge and when you stop wearing that you can go out and have a few beers and a chat as you would anywhere – so there is an unwinding and getting away from it because it can be quite intense...

(Male 50+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Personal Interview Grotto at Lourdes)

The respondent however was keen to focus on his subjective notion of the true meaning (for the pilgrim) when visiting Lourdes;

...Now I would say to people because as you say it was full of tourists around Lourdes that had come for the day and day trips and the rest of it - and there are tourist areas, there is a skiing area around. If you go to Lourdes, if you are not involved in some way helping with a handicapped group, looking after people, it is ok you can take part but for me it removes what Lourdes is all about, it is about the sick and ill people...

...to look after this group of handicapped people in wheelchairs or some other degrees of handicap (or whatever) and that is the central bit of Lourdes...

(Male 50+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Personal Interview Grotto at Lourdes)

The view expressed by the pilgrim at the Grotto was offered to a Catholic priest leading a small group of pilgrims;

...well, anyone who travels a great distance to go to somewhere of pilgrimage across Europe, especially you know if it is young person who has saved up all their money to do this, you're not going to pass up the opportunity to see the other cultural treasures when you're on the way. Very few people will just go to a pilgrimage site and pray and come straight home again – not if it takes any particular effort to get there...

...but to make a distinction here – there are those who are travelling somewhere as tourists that may look in on a shrine because it is a cultural attraction and then there are those who are motivated by either the desire to pray out of respect and devotion for God or the Saint honoured at the shrine, or because they are looking for answers to prayers – usually but not always a cure – it might be on behalf of someone else they're going to pray for...it might be a vow they've made to God; if you answer this prayer I will go to such and such a place in your honour...

(Male 40+ Priest leading a small group of pilgrims – Lourdes Bar)

Indeed this distinction offered by the priest was further reflected from within the small group of pilgrims;

...those categories who are all pilgrims with different kinds of motivation they may look at the tourist things and that is the other flip side...

...now organised pilgrimages do not leave a lot of time for the tourism, if you go to Lourdes as a helper for instance, and lots of young people go on a helpers package, then you have duties everyday – unloading planes and trains, pushing people around the Grotto in the chariots available and so the free time you get tends to be at eight o clock at night. The free time then centres around the bars of Lourdes and each British pilgrimage has its own bar which is where they tend to hang out, and the young people will sing songs and then go down to pray at two o clock in the morning as young people do, which is the one time when it is fairly quiet at the Grotto...

...there are often lots of people doing it (pilgrimage) *because they are looking for a spiritual something, not because they are committed Catholics or embrace the Catholic tradition, but because they are on some sort of personal quest*...so they wouldn't necessarily be motivated by the sort of faith the Vatican would rubber stamp but they still had some more general religious interest or philosophical interest...

...but I think pilgrimage is so individual, every person or pilgrim will have a distinct and unique reason for signing up for it, even if it is a parish that are all going together still some will come because their friends are going and others will come because there is something in their faith

(Group of Pilgrims – Lourdes Bar)

It is interesting to note that the final group comments distinguish between those with purely religious motives and those who are undertaking the pilgrimage out of a sense of kinship, friendship or personalised secular quest. The group leader (Priest) commented upon his personal experience of visiting, via the Route de Camino, the Catholic shrine of St James at Santiago de Compostela. A common approach to sub layering pilgrims/tourists emerged in the comments;

...I thought I must visit St James one day, and when a mate from the seminary was going it seemed an opportune time to do it, well that was my personal motivation to do it – well there were lots of young people doing the trail (long pause) – yes that's right, *because they were looking for a spiritual something*, (turns toward one of the group of pilgrims and repeats the same comments as above) but *not because they were committed Catholics or embraced the Catholic tradition of it, but more they were on some sort of personal quest*, and it was a cheap thing to do because you got the hostels on route available for a peppercorn rent...

...you know one thing that you can't avoid on the Camino is having conversations with people who have a spiritual motivation...of course there is the symbolism of the journey when travelling to Santiago – (laughs) ...the great metaphor...

(Male 40+ Priest leading a small group of pilgrims – Lourdes Bar)

Pilgrimage has for centuries been portrayed as the oldest form of non-economic travel. While this theory may resonate with traditional perceptions of religious shrines as serving a multiplicity of needs it also makes an implication that for a site to be needs serving then it also, logically, would have a multiplicity of expectations. The difficulty in framing religious shrines as needs serving can be traced to the early work of Smith (1992), Stoddard (1996) and others, but it is evident from this fieldwork that expectations lie at the centre of a) the motivation for coming to Lourdes, and b) how individuals construct a personal meaning prior to, during and following the visit (whether they class themselves as pilgrim or tourist). The responses from the fieldwork make it clear that the pilgrim and the tourist are able to a) distinguish between each other based upon expectation, b) move between corresponding activities, and c) identify what they are, potentially, going to get out of their visit. These three factors when viewed separately may be the points at which division is at its greatest. There is a notable distinction in the findings between the two groups; this section started by presenting a traditional view of the tourist-pilgrim continuum as conceptual opposites and indeed it may appear that this prophecy can be evidenced at Lourdes. While there may be evidence of the polarised nature of each group there is also however good evidence here of interplay, cross fertilisation and dual usage at the shrine. This further complicates the initial questions put forward in the introduction to this section. Indeed the perceived need to come to Lourdes for those, who for example are suffering or sick, would be very different to those exploring Lourdes with little intrinsic religious interest but perhaps a wider interest in the cultural and historical significance of the site. These two sets of individuals may indeed have differing motives, needs and expectations but it is the events of the apparitions at Lourdes and indeed the wider happenings that have occurred in subsequent years that are the fixed markers, the distinguishing feature, the point of focus for each visitor to the shrine.

4.1.3 The pull factors - experiencing Marian mysticism, cures and miracles – the meaning of pilgrimage

When Bernadette, the eldest daughter of Francois and Louise Soubirous, experienced the Lourdes apparitions during the early months of 1858, the young Pyrenean girl immediately became transformed from a simple peasant girl to a 'seer'. A 'seer' in the traditional sense is the one who directly views, hears or experiences the sensation of an apparition. The contemporary use of the word has been expanded and now is used in a much more broad sense to include those with psychic powers such as mediums and fortune tellers. To further dissect the complexity of Bernadette's experience may be difficult but console can be taken from the words of Pope Benedict XVI who in 2008 claimed that an apparition is the

manifestation, perceived by a subject of a being, the vision of whom in this place and in this moment is unexplainable according to the normal course of things (ibid). The transformation Bernadette experienced can only be felt in relatively minor ways (possibly multiple) by the pilgrims that come to Lourdes anticipating a similar 'life changing' experience. It is however important to note the use of the word 'unexplainable' in the guidelines put forward by the most recent of Papal explanations. Unexplainable is a common notion at Lourdes as individuals strive to make sense of the call of Mary for their particular circumstances. The more general reasons for the apparitions of Mary may be complex but theoretically at least there are a number of potential explanations: to manifest the hidden presence of God, to renew community life, to convert hearts, to reawaken and stimulate faith, and, to renew hope and dynamism in the church (see Laurentin undated). The following explanation was put forward by a Priest leading a group of pilgrims to Lourdes;

...why do people still come to Lourdes...because Mary asks them to, because we trust in Mary, because of the pull of Mary...

...well for some it may be desperation, but for most it is a searching, a conscious thoughtful search because Mary appeared here...

...you know what is important here; the crucial thing is although there are many places that Mary is said to have appeared, in Lourdes she specifically said let the sick people come here – so out of all the possibly genuine apparitions, Lourdes is the one where God seems to have sent Mary to put her finger on it and said look, if you are ill this is the place to come...

(Male 40+ Priest leading a small group of pilgrims – Lourdes Bar)

The 'pull' factor associated with Mary can be evidenced at the very least in the continuing popularity of Lourdes. It is the however the ability of Mary to re-enter the world that continues to draw people to Lourdes - the one according to Laurentin (undated) who acts as the communicator between God and his people. The fact that Mary died, and assumed her place, both body and soul, in heaven, uniquely preserved and glorified, may be evidence that she is more endowed to act as a communicator than those who exist as separated souls {Laurentin undated) (ibid). This notion has resonance with earlier interpretations of Marian apparitions and thus may point to a wider expectation among Catholic believers that Mary can literally re-enter via heavenly doors. This phenomenon was discussed with several participants;

...that is right, thin places the Celtic writers call this...

...(we) accept it...this is an authentic site...

(Group of Pilgrims – Lourdes Bar)

...well I am sorry but I would have to say no – I would say these pilgrimage sites are for me of varying degrees of interest and inspiration and whatever – but I would have to say that I disagree with what has been said that there are these places that we can somehow interact with whoever (meaning Mary) – because for us an article of faith when there is what we call the Mass, that for us is it – that is when we access...

...and then saying you know Mary, the Virgin Mary and so forth is a little out of place (referring to repeated re-entering), the central act is the Mass, and hence (at Lourdes) the church was built immediately to celebrate it (Mass)...

(Male 50+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Bar at Lourdes)

Mary re-entering the world was explored with participants. A selection of participants was asked if they had a full belief that Mary had in fact appeared at Lourdes;

...for a substantial proportion of Catholics, yes, I think many of them genuinely believe that Mary did appear to St Bernadette at Lourdes, and many others are willing to give God the benefit of the doubt...especially if they are seriously ill...

(Male 40+ - Priest – Personal interview – Grotto at Lourdes)

...on balance yes I do believe Mary appeared at Lourdes...I have thought about it lots and now I have been here I am satisfied that Bernadette did see her, that she did speak, so yes I do believe in the story...

(Male 50+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Personal Interview Grotto at Lourdes)

An interesting point to note at this juncture is the response from two separate participants who were keen to discuss the generally accepted paradox – i.e. that Lourdes may have been authenticated by the Catholic Church Authorities for reasons more aligned to the social and political context of France in the mid 1850s – as a possible reason for scepticism among Catholic believers;

...but there will be Catholics who are sceptics and you don't have to believe in Lourdes to be a catholic, the Vatican has given it it's recognition, so the Vatican's presumption is that there was a genuine apparition there, but you can't be thrown out of the Catholic church for saying I do not believe that Mary appeared at Lourdes...

...it's not a doctrine; it's an optional extra...

(Male 40+ - Priest – Personal interview – Grotto at Lourdes)

...there certainly is a lot of scepticism about it...

...so it isn't universally accepted that Lourdes, well, is true...

...and devotion to our lady ranges...

...because there are people within Catholicism/Anglicanism who say this Lady bit this Saint bit we do not want to sign up to too much – (we) accept it as an authentic site, our Lady, St Bernadette whatever, but they do not want to go further than that...

...if I didn't have prior knowledge of Lourdes and build upon it I would not be happy...whereas others just come for the devotional, the worship, and to take part in the church stuff, that has never been for me, I need to explore what went on here, and also to be sceptical – yes I often say that to people – you know with science the way it was, in 1928 there was alleged to have been a cure, and there are stories from 1858 onwards, I'll be totally honest in saying that I am a little bit sceptical about those in terms of scientific and medical knowledge at the time, and whether people in the fuller sense were actually cured...

(Male 50+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Personal Interview Grotto at Lourdes)

Thursday 25th February is an important date in the chronology of the apparitions at Lourdes. During the apparition of the 25th February, in what by observers at the time was described as

a bizarre act of lunacy, Bernadette scratched at the ground, ate what could only be described as rough grass, took a handful of muddy water and smeared it on her face. Bernadette explained to the gathering crowds that the Lady of the apparition had requested her to drink of the water of the spring and eat the grass that grew there. While this simple act was initially viewed as rather incredulous it later became apparent that the spring, which had always been at the Grotto of Massabielle, was now fully formed and flowing at an incredible rate. Bernadette was quick to reinforce her claim that her actions were in response to a request from the vision; most likely as an act of penance. The meaning of the request may be difficult to interpret but the outcome is clear; Massabielle was graced with a frequently found amenity of shrines to the Virgin Mary – a holy spring (see Taylor 2003). Water at Lourdes is a significant element of the visit, evidenced in the daily 14,500 gallons of water that are taken by pilgrims during the summer months, whether directly at the baths, or in the plastic containers used to carry the holy water back home. The curative power of the spring at Lourdes was a theme explored among a range of participants;

...the fact that, that spring was discovered at the direction of Bernadette through the vision, makes it an integral element of the healing, whereas there are plenty of shrines, even in Wales, where a well is said to have healing properties, but – there are not many places where a well has been discovered in the context of a message from God pointing out where the water is – so I suppose that does give a more intrinsic...well, Mary leads Bernadette to find the water and Mary says come here, Mary doesn't expressly say you need the water in order to receive a miracle, but it is a natural act of showing your faith in what happened there, to take the water by drinking it or bathing in it, and its tantamount to say that I believe that well was pointed out through the mother of God for healing...

...you know this is a channel to God, a connection, you know everyone's relationship with God is unique and for some people I think this genuinely helps them, whether its purely psychological or whether there's something spiritual, if you can separate the spirit from the purely psychological that is...which is another whole debate we won't go into, but the fact that say for example there is a shrine to a Saint there is hugely meaningful to a lot of people, and their subjective experience of their prayer life will certainly be amplified by that, and you know it is part of our Catholic understanding that God rewards acts of faith, so that anything that can help people to deepen the intensity of their fervent belief, in other words to deepen their faith, may predispose them to enter a deeper level of prayer, and...if there is a God that answers prayer, then that might just be the trigger that persuades God that now is the time, well, rarely to grant a healing, but quite often to give peace of mind, or of a sense of direction or consolation to someone...

(Male 40+ - Priest – Personal interview – Grotto at Lourdes)

A second participant offered a very different perspective;

...well you know Simon there was no actual claim, it was really an invite (to the spring) to ask people to wash and repent...I don't know, I think it may (Lourdes) have got caught up in a contemporary thing – you know a bit like the Spa thing, like Vichy and the ones in this country, I cannot remember what they are called now, it was a bit like if you go to the seaside or to one of the Spas it will actually be better for you – and you know I just wonder in Lourdes sometimes whether it is part of that – you know I have not read all the stories of the claimed cures and miracles...but...

...because the mystical Catholic church sometimes goes way over the top in terms of – um – in what is attributed to people who are in the end human beings – I really have to be honest, I am a bit unhappy about cures and something special happening to you because of a Saint or Our Lady or whatever...

...you know that has not been my experience talking to lots of people (at Lourdes), you can hope for that, and you know I don't treat it lightly but, I want to pass the exam, so of course you could say pray hard, and that is what we were encouraged to do as kids, and as kids we thought great, that is a good deal, and I do not want to be simplistic but I think that is carried over...

...you know interestingly some Priests speak on this and say you can make deals here you know...you know I remember a story we were taught about a King who made a pilgrimage and flogged himself as a penance – he had made a deal...

...making a pilgrimage is not making a deal (with God)...

...but when people start talking about cures and curing I just have to say woh, slow down...

...I have never been quite happy with that...

(Male 50+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Personal Interview Grotto at Lourdes)

A third participant reflected upon his personal psychosomatic experience at the baths;

...when you go into the waters, for me, it is more the uplift, it's more the mystical appearance of your faith – now, that does not go down very well with people, they actually want what happened regarded as an article of faith, they want it declared as happened, they want the church to declare it...

...and I try to say to some of the people that I have taken, look I am not being sarcastic but it's not get up and walk, it's unlikely that physically – well because as you know some of the people have been led to believe or have assumed to believe that there will be some physical improvement in quite severely handicaps (by taking the water), like the kids at Lourdes and so on – I have not heard of that...

...well, psychologically, the friendship, yes of course, kids who might be isolated because of various things, well there is a tremendous boost...

(Male 60+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Grotto at Lourdes)

Interestingly a fourth participant considered how Lourdes should be portrayed in the context of its curative potential. A central tenet of the participants comments were focused upon the normality of Lourdes, with acts of worship replicating the rites and rituals one may expect during church services at home;

...now I do not if you noticed Simon, because you've been here before, but rather bizarrely they had hundreds of crutches hanging up in the Grotto, now they have all gone, I always found that a bit strange, and it gave the impression of – oh someone has chucked them away, kind of thing – and I always said well it is not quite that, but why are they up there? You know what was strange was no one knew why they were there, not even on the guided tours...do you know the new Bishop – well he's the guy in charge – he wanted them gone...do you know the Grotto and the statue well they are enough on their own and when I saw those (the crutches) I thought oh no I do not like that, but you know now they are gone – good...

...you know Simon I do not want to be judgemental but for us in Lourdes it is about meeting – this happens dozens of times in Lourdes – you know there is a large meadow, a chapel we use, you may go away for the day, there are acts of worship all the time, for example something very moving people found, you know the anointing of the sick, its basically an oil based thing with prayers and that was very emotional for people, especially those who are sick. So this provides an opportunity without embarrassment, without being rushed, you know this could be done in private in one of the churches...

...you know the important thing here, and I do not want to be derogatory...what is often referred to as mumbo jumbo, and people from the reformed faiths you see don't sign up to – so my worry as I tried to say earlier – about mysticism and links to Lourdes, well it can lead to a misunderstanding, I do not sign up to that...

(Male 50+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Bar at Lourdes)

The motive for visiting Lourdes may be complex and indeed the best way to judge an event that to all but the seer is invisible relies on complete faith. Bernadette of Lourdes experienced a private happening and yet shared her experience with the world around her, not only at the request of the Virgin Mary (e.g. ask the people to come) but equally from a desire to evangelise the happenings at Lourdes and the call that she had received from Mary. The evangelisation and subsequent Christianisation of Lourdes, following the apparitions, is not surprising given the historical superstitions that were associated with much of the Pyrenean Grotto chain. Interestingly the Catholic Church does not give any formal or definite teaching regarding apparitions, either of Mary or any of the other named Saints; it is often, as pointed out in these findings, down to the individual to decide how they will incorporate such events into their faith. For the believer this is an acceptable position, as Odell (2010) advocates, this decision is usually based upon a number of interrelating factors such as experience, knowledge and expectations; possibly even the fact that the apparition has stood the test of time and has produced other miraculous wonders since the event. Of course, apparitions do not add anything to the essentials of faith, and neither do the church advocate that they should; as the book of Revelation states 'do not add anything to the words of the prophecy of this book'. The facts at Lourdes however are influenced by the inclusion in Mary's call to dig at the base of the Grotto for what eventually turned out to be a spring. While Mary did not specifically offer healing at the well she did ask that the sick would be brought to 'this place'. This prophecy is taken by millions of pilgrims each year as a direct invitation to take the curative waters at Lourdes. The evidence at Lourdes is compelling; six million visitors each year; two daily services attended by thousands of sick pilgrims queuing for over a mile to be immersed in the Holy water that is now piped from the spring that Bernadette uncovered.

To reduce Lourdes to miracle or no miracle; cure or no cure; trivialises the almost immeasurable and incalculable potential to make a difference on so many levels to so many individuals. The evidence of miraculous healing at Lourdes is contradictory. The Lourdes Medical Bureau (LMB), in an attempt to distinguish between the psychosomatic power of Lourdes and genuine and unexpected 'cures' have drawn up guidelines for assessing proclaimed miracles. The LMB guidelines aim to rule out trickery, illusion and even delirious pathology. Importantly the LMB holds on to the term unexpected as part of their definition of cures that have a real medical basis of evidence upon which to make a decision of authenticity [8]. As one participant travelling with a Diocese group commented;

...this is partly because of the advance of medical science, the standard of proof that they set, that the healing has to be inexplicable, the more medicine knows the harder it is to show something is still inexplicable...now Lourdes has been around for a hundred and fifty years and what medical science in 1900 would say well that's inexplicable, isn't the same as what we would say in the twenty first century...now does that mean if you reviewed all the authenticated so called miraculous cures at Lourdes in the light of what we now know about medicine – would all of them stand – I don't know – maybe a few would be knocked down, but the Lourdes

Medical Bureau now not only publishes a list of inexplicable cures if any happened, and they haven't for about thirty years, but also a list of hard to explain ones...

(Male 40+ Regular church attendee and experienced pilgrim – Grotto at Lourdes)

The provenance and mysticism of Lourdes, which includes miracles, cures and a general sense of well being, will continue to divide opinion. For Odell (2010) the evidence however is compelling, especially when one considers the ecclesiastical theology concerning Marian apparitions; the guideline followed focuses upon the testability of such events. Testing such subjective happenings may be difficult and indeed even the atheist tourist will get 'something' from their visit to Lourdes. However to return to Odell (2010) and her theory of testability, one may take example from the Acts of Apostles when Gamaliel, a respected member of the Sanhedrin, suggested that one could test miraculous happenings by simply observing; to paraphrase Gamaliel 'if it is of human origin it will break up of it's own accord, but if it does in fact come from God you will not only be able to destroy them, but you might find yourselves fighting against God' (Holy Bible New International Version 1996; Acts 5: 38-39).

4.1.4 The testimonies of pilgrims – a confession of truth

The first three sections of these findings reflect, in many instances, the complex nature of Lourdes. The quote from Eade and Sallnow (2000) that started this chapter presents a picture of Lourdes as a superficially collaborative experience. This rather cynical view put forward more than two decades ago (1st Ed 1991) does raise a number of issues; 1) the Eade and Sallnow (2000) view presents the reader with a radical shift from the Turnerian (1978) concept of communitas in Christian pilgrimage (i.e. a relational quality of full unmediated communication, even communion with other individuals, which combines the qualities of lowliness, sacredness, homogeneity, and comradeship). As Turner and Turner observed in their 1978 study, *"In Lourdes there is a sense of living communitas, whether in the great singing processions by torchlight or in the agreeable little cafés of the backstreets, where tourists and pilgrims gaily sip their wine and coffee. Something of Bernadette has tinctured the entire social milieu, a cheerful simplicity, a great depth of communion"* (ibid), and 2) there is evidence in these findings that power and control form the basis of relationships between pilgrims, leaders, operators (markers) and tourists. This exists at a number of inter-related levels and is mostly associated with what one expects to achieve from ones visit or what one expects to gain from others visiting the shrine.

Indeed, there are other factors that contribute to contestation and conflict at Lourdes; the fact that Lourdes - the shrine - is dedicated to two women, Mary, the mother of Christ and St Bernadette, is somewhat ironic given that the Brancardiers (male lay helpers) play the most visible and extensive role in organising pilgrims (Eade and Sallnow 2000). This factor can also be evidenced in the relatively high proportion of male participants that contributed to this study. This, of course, may be down to a number of interrelated factors such as opportunity, access or trust. The process of 'taking part' at Lourdes is however multi-layered and will mostly depend upon the networks and relationships that one has access to while visiting the pilgrimage site or shrine. This may be influenced by such diverse factors as nationality, type

of pilgrimage group, gender and relationship to those with perceived influence (such as the Brancardiers who organise pilgrims at the baths or the community of Priests who will have greater influence than the individual pilgrim or tourist).

It would be naive to propose that Lourdes is a place unaffected by external influences. Lourdes has become a popular tourist excursion and now plays an important role in the cultural itinerary of many of the six million annual visits. For the religious pilgrim, however, Lourdes has consistently provided a backdrop for unobligated faith, both in the reported/authenticated miracles and cures and in the informal narratives such as the descriptions presented in the following testimonies. The bars and cafes of Lourdes provide the informal settings for such recounts where stories are exchanged in a process that can be likened to such abstract examples as fairly tales, mythological narratives or Biblical parables. These narratives are most commonly used to make a metaphorical or allegorical point, position or claim.

In the context of the evidence presented it would be difficult to wholly disagree with Eade and Sallnow's (2000) judgement of Lourdes as a place of complex undertones. This final section of findings will however present testimonies that may offer an alternative perspective of life at Lourdes and the continuing need/want to repeat the experience/s. The testimonies presented in the final section of these findings are evidence of the continuing need of pilgrims to recount narratives, often experienced first hand but commonly recycled and retold narratives that are passed from pilgrim to pilgrim.

Testimony 1

At Lourdes there exists an acceptance among pilgrims that the informal narratives form part of a holistic mythology; an informal network of stories that underpin belief systems, faith and the Catholic identity and traditions one may associate with miracles and cures emanating from the Virgin Mary. The first account presented in this section demonstrates a complete acceptance by the participant of a firsthand retold miraculous event. The narrative culminates in the participant accepting that the recount of the miracle will probably be limited to a small number of individuals. This, according to the participant, does not matter because, 1) the storyteller (mother of child) knows, and 2) because he knows. It is this form of informal narrative that underpins the formal structures that exist at Lourdes; the structures (formal) that perhaps are the stimulant for some of the factors of contestation and conflict presented earlier in this chapter.

The testimony is presented in its entirety;

Here's an interesting story...

In 2009 my colleagues and I were stood outside St Josephs Chapel watching the wheelchairs being taken down by the youth into St Josephs Chapel. A little lady holding her child in her arms was walking along, and only because I was standing on the outside of the group came up to me and said – well what I thought she said was – where are the miracles? Now I thought she was asking for the miracle museum, the museum of miracles at Lourdes which actually was just opposite where we were standing. So I pointed at the building and said if you go through that door there and up the stairs, onto the landing...that depicts the role of miracles. Then she said I have tried the door and it is closed...one of the other friends who were with us said...they are closed until two o

clock...so I said I was sorry and told her to wait and it would open at two o clock. I then told her that the story of miracles was in French and so asked her if she would be able to understand...the lady was Indonesian I think...

The lady then said to me...no no...I have to tell someone about my daughter being cured...so then I said ok, are you looking for the medical bureau? Yes she said. So then I asked her was the cure at the baths? No she said, it was at the Grotto. I then asked her would she kindly tell me about it...the lady responded – yes I will – Ever since she was born my little girl has suffered from allergies – she could not eat or drink anything without being violently sick – and I prayed and cried...now I distinctly remember her saying she had prayed and cried to our Holy Mother for her child. When we came away from the Grotto my little girl asked for an ice cream – I felt sorry for her so bought her an ice cream...although I did expect her to be sick – but she wasn't. It has now been twelve months and my little girl can eat or drink anything and she has never been sick since...and I need to tell someone.

Can I shake hands with your little girl I said? So I knelt down in front of this little girl...she was about three years of age, a little pink hat on, a lovely t shirt and blue shorts...and I said to her you are a beautiful little girl and she gave me a big beaming smile. I then said can I shake your hand and so she put her hand out - and so I shook her hand and put my other hand on her head – and I know this may seem like a silly thing to say but I said God bless you – and then instantly I realised he already had. I then watched the mother and her child walking down to the medical bureau to tell someone their story.

Now I know this will never be classed as a miracle, probably no one will ever know about it, but that mother knows it was a miracle, and that's good enough for me...that's good enough for me.

(Male 60+ Diocese of Lancaster)

This account presents several notable events; 1) the context would suggest that the pilgrims were observing the procession of wheelchairs within the Basilica grounds – observance of the wheelchair procession at Lourdes is common practice among pilgrims and is often characterised by fervour, excitement and an expectation of the miraculous, 2) the participant recounts the story first-hand, 3) there is no tangible evidence that would suggest the cure is authentic - the participant accepts the facts of the story unconditionally, 4) the participant accepts that this will never be an authenticated miracle/cure.

The chance encounter described above is typical of the informal, myth based narratives that one encounters at Lourdes. The acceptance of such miracles in many instances is contradictory to the current ecclesiastical view. The Lourdes Medical Bureau (LMB), in response to media suggestions that nothing is happening at Lourdes, have redefined cures and miracles at Lourdes to reflect the advances in medical science (both in diagnosis and therapy) since the apparitions at Lourdes one hundred and fifty years ago. The redefined guidelines identify three stages of recognition of cures and miracles. The attempt to formalise the process of redefining cures and miracles is not reflective of individual experience at Lourdes; it merely attempts to offer the external world a lens through which it can view the complexity of Lourdes and somehow offer some basic interpretations. As the LMB acknowledges; For the Church, as well as for the believer, a pilgrimage to Mary is more than a journey to a miracle. It is a journey of love, of prayer and of the suffering community. In Lourdes, in effect, the sick, who get out of their bed of sickness and isolation in their bedroom or hospital room, are welcomed, respected, surrounded and in a lively world where they have pride of place (ibid). The formulaic guidelines offered by the LMB, while convenient for the external world, have little or no consequence for the pilgrim at Lourdes. Reducing a miracle or cure to

medical science is often treated with contempt among pilgrims at Lourdes; as the participant in testimony one proclaims, 'this will never be classed as a miracle, probably no one will ever know about it, but that mother knows it was a miracle, and that's good enough for me'.

Testimony 2

The second account presents a story being recounted by a Diocesan pilgrim. The account explores two events relating to one individual; 1) hallucinations that include both the Devil and Our Lady, and 2) the subsequent cure following a prolonged period wheelchair bound and unable to walk. The narrative refers to an event that took place in 1989, but that is still twenty years later used as an example of the relevance of Our Lady in both a modern context and as a reason for repeating ones visit to Lourdes. The account is retold by two pilgrims; Jack, who was not present at the events, and Kevin, who was present (in the same hotel) during the period of the events.

The testimony is presented in its entirety;

This is the story of a guy we knew who was in a wheelchair.

Well – I went into a bar and saw this guy – Pedr Clarke – standing by the bar, and he acknowledged me, so I went over and shook his hand and said what are you doing here – well he said he was a helper. He was not a believer but had always come to Lourdes because his wife wanted him to go – he had said he was not a believer...

Do you know this is a very interesting story about Pedr Clarke...Of all the miraculous cures and miracles that I have heard or read about I have never heard anything compared to Pedr Clarke – not because of the miracle...because of what he said...what he said was before he had left Lourdes he was having terrible dreams and hallucinations, I saw the face of the Devil and it was terrible, horrible...and I also saw the face of Our Lady...and gradually the face of the Devil faded and the face of Our Lady shone through him. Now I have never heard anyone say that before. He said he could see the face of the Devil – horrible – terrifying. Do you know I have a newspaper cutting at home about this story.

My friend Kevin was in the same hotel, the Astoria, as Pedr Clarke and apparently he was singing in his wheelchair the night before – they were all sitting down for lunch when one of the pilgrimage ladies came in and said there's been a miracle...where. when, who...we don't know – that's all we know is it's one of the Irish contingent...do you know it was only talking to Kevin a few years later that I actually found out that Kevin was there – in the same hotel as Pedr Clarke.

(Male 70+ Diocese of Lancaster)

I think Our Lady shows you (accidentally) proof that Lourdes is working. I mean why did all of us who were part of that story that night see Pedr Clarke walking? In fact running...and then coming back for years afterwards.

(Male 80+ Diocese of Lancaster)

I don't know whether Kevin remembered to tell you or not? He (Pedr Clarke) went to his room and his feet started shaking, twitching, well that was the start of it...and he said there was a picture or a photograph of Our Lady or Bernadette that started to light up – he shouted to his wife – she came in and he said look, look at my feet they are moving. The following morning he walked down to the Grotto and kept stopping and looking at himself in shop windows not believing that it was him walking. Added to this was what he had said about the terrible hallucinations where he saw the face of the Devil – but you know gradually Our Lady shone through...Do you know I went back to work – we both (Kevin and I) worked at the same firm (British

Aerospace) and I said to one guy did you ever hear any follow up to this miracle, and then some time after somebody brought a newspaper clipping in from Dublin – well it was headline news in Dublin – you know by the time I got it, it had been photocopied and photocopied and photocopied – well I wrote this all out on my computer in case anyone would want to know about it. I don't know if it made the wider news – it was a long time ago, 1989.

Well I keep coming back – you know we get together at the beginning of the pilgrimage to speak to one another – well for us at our age it's just one big family, we meet people from the Diocese and all over and it's just fantastic. Do you know we always talk to the new youth who are coming and I always say to them, I came here at seventeen years of age, and once you have been to Lourdes, Our Lady will never let you go, no matter what happens to you, whether you go off the rails – because I went off the rails, I never went to church for eighteen years – and do you know one day I watched a programme on television about Medjugorje and that brought Lourdes back to me so strongly that I went back to church and I knew I had to come back to Lourdes to say sorry. Well that was in 1987.

Do you know this is my fourteenth time to Lourdes but there have been long gaps in-between. I was here in 1958 for the centenary and then came back in 1961 for my twenty first birthday and never in a million years thought that I would be back here this year (2010) celebrating my seventieth birthday...now I never would have thought that I would be back forty nine years later so I have to be thankful to Our Lady for that and indeed I am.

(Male 70+ Diocese of Lancaster)

The hallucinations and subsequent cure of Pedr Clarke is referred to as 'proof that Lourdes is working' according to the participant who was present during the two events recounted. The fact that the participant witnessed the healing is questioned; 'why did all of us who were part of that story that night see Pedr Clarke walking?' This may in fact be a rhetorical question considering the acceptance of proof. It is clear from the beginning of the narrative that Pedr Clarke was not a believer but that Mary had in some way intervened, importantly, during his stay at Lourdes. It is then Lourdes the place that is the significant factor in this recount; (the significance of Lourdes the place is well documented in the seminal pilgrimage research texts of the 1970s and 1980s; Turner and Turner 1978; Marnham 1980; Nolan and Nolan 1989). It is however the tradition of Mary re-entering via heavenly doors that is the focus of this recount; this is a factor associated with a small number of locations in the Catholic faith, Lourdes being one of the most important. The story of Pedr Clarke recounts the tradition of Mary returning; 'and I also saw the face of Our Lady...and gradually the face of the Devil faded and the face of Our Lady shone through'. The fact that Mary is a tangible element of this recount reinforces the Lourdes tradition of Mary's re-entering. Stories of this kind are retold in various forms and constructions in the bars and cafes at Lourdes. This is reinforced by Jack, who in his final statement refers to Our Lady not letting you go, no matter what happens to you. Jack continues by referring to a television programme he had seen that brought Lourdes back into his consciousness following a long period away from church. It was following this programme that Jack returned to Lourdes; interestingly to say sorry. For Jack it would appear that the story of Pedr Clarke, which happened two years after his re-conversion in 1987, is the narrative upon which he bases his personal engagement and relationship with Lourdes.

Testimony 3

The third testimony presents an account of a personal experience at Lourdes. The significant factor of the account can be seen in the underlying implication that a) Lourdes gives

individuals equality – anyone can come to Our Lady – and no one is turned away (this has similar connotations with the Hindu belief that the River God Ganga will not turn anyone away – not even those of lower castes), and b) the account refers to Lourdes, and more specifically Our Lady, comforting following the loss of a loved one. There is of course the potential for digression here; one may consider the evidence of apparitions and ask the question why does Mary come? The ecclesiastical perspective has already been put forward in this chapter; to manifest the hidden presence of God, to renew community life, to convert hearts, to reawaken and stimulate faith, and, to renew hope and dynamism in the church (see Laurentin undated). It is however overwhelmingly evident in these findings that the reason for Marian apparitions, for the individual, is to encourage and support through, as Odell (2010) suggests, the injustices and miseries of our era. This may have particular resonance with the findings of this chapter; the fact that the concept of Marian apparition has been transformed from private revelation to public outpouring may be a reflection of contemporary society, more specifically the narcissistic condition of individuals searching for individualistic gratification (Bryman 2004) and spiritual experience that is spatial, temporary and transient.

The testimony in this section is the recount given by a Diocese of Lancaster pilgrim during a prolonged visit (twelve weeks) to Lourdes following the death of his wife. The testimony is a description of a series of events that occurred during the final week at Lourdes.

The testimony is presented in its entirety;

Do you know we (referring to friend) have been sharing a room for a couple of years now but I've been coming here for thirty seven years, every year, even when my wife died I came out on my own for twelve weeks – well I worked in Our Lady's garden charity tea shop. Well do you know someone told me that the Westminster pilgrimage was coming in and that the Duchess of Kent was with them...and I said well where is their opening ceremony? And I was told it is at the City of the Pure – so I went up to the City of the Pure just to say I had seen the Duchess of Kent – well I got a seat at the front of the alter so I could get a good view of her...well the arena was in the open air alter and it filled up very quickly and for some reason no one sat next to me...well I said to this man sitting by me, is the Duchess of Kent here yet and he said yes she is pushing a wheelchair and will be here shortly...well a couple of minutes later he says to me here she comes now...so this lady all dressed in white, no earrings, no make up on, just plain – and she came and she parked the wheelchair and one of the Brancardier's took it and placed it in front of the alter, and she turned around to her minders and they pointed over somewhere to go, and I remember her distinctly saying and pointing to the seat beside me...well she got her way and she came over and she sat down and she never spoke to this man (referring to the man sat the other side)...well she turned around and said get closer to me – well I was trembling with fear – she said to me am I on my own? Well as soon as I told her I had lost my wife she never left me that week... she said what are you doing tonight at eight o clock? I said I would probably be at the torchlight procession – she said well see me immediately after it – I sat with her for two hours and she had me crying my heart out going through the process of the loss of a loved one...and all that week she gave me the greatest of comfort...well I was lucky I met her that week because it was my last week before going home, and when she said on the Thursday night will you see me tomorrow at two o clock, I said well I am going home tomorrow your Royal Highness and she said – what – your going home, I don't go until Saturday...and she threw her arms around me and she made me promise faithfully that I would continue to write to her, and she gave me her address...and I wrote to her for a few years, and then she became ill – and I didn't want to annoy her any more or anything so I stopped writing...Do you know she came back two years later, and I was told she was coming back – she was flying into Tarbes-Lourdes airport and there was a taxi picking her up and taking her to the Mediteranee...I was told she would be here at four o clock so I went down at about half past three and sat near the lift waiting to see her coming in...well when

I saw her coming in and making her way to the reception desk I got myself sat where she could see me and she walked over and almost missed me and then spotted me and said – Kevin, is it you...two years later she still remembered me...

(Male 80+ Diocese of Lancaster)

This recount tells the story of an individual search for comfort at Lourdes following the loss of a loved one. What is interesting to note in this recount is the omission of the Virgin Mary and St Bernadette from the narrative. The focus of this recount is however upon another woman in the form of the Duchess of Kent. What can be noted in this recount is the allegorical reference to certain events that replicate the Lourdes phenomenon. Firstly the respondent is sought out from among the crowd of pilgrims...and I remember her distinctly saying and pointing to the seat beside me...well she got her way and she came over and she sat down and she never spoke to this man (referring to the man sat the other side)...This is a significant point in the recount as it draws a parallel with Mary's search for Bernadette and the subsequent search and call of all pilgrims that are drawn to Lourdes. The respondent then tells how he was...trembling with fear...This again replicates Bernadette's emotions as she witnessed the Marian apparitions at the Grotto; 'The Lady motioned for Bernadette to draw closer to her but a mixture of fear and timidity stopped her' (adapted from Taylor 2003). The second point to note in this recount is the appearance of the Duchess...so this lady all dressed in white, no earrings, no make up on, just plain...The appearance of the Duchess almost mirrors Bernadette's 'pure' description of the Virgin Mary during the apparitions. As Taylor (2003) documents; she (Bernadette) turned to the grotto to see a bright shining light. At the centre of the light Bernadette gradually could see a woman dressed in white with a blue sash (ibid). Taylor's (2003) inclusion of the term 'bright shining light' may have metaphorical parallels with the notion of Marian purity first commented upon in the Gospel of Luke; *...the angel went to Mary and said...Greetings* [9]*, you who are highly favoured...The Lord is with you!...* (Luke 1: 28 Holy Bible: New International Version 1996) [10]. Indeed, it was the events at Lourdes that confirmed and supported, for many believers, the 1854 proclamation by Pope Pius XI that Mary was conceived, born and lived her life without the stain of sin [11]. This notion of sinless life, according to Pius XI, was well rooted in scripture, *"especially where Luke states that the Angel Gabriel greeted Mary as full of grace"* (Odell 2010: 11). The teaching that states Mary was humanly good in a way that would never be repeated is a central tenant of the Catholic doctrine and repeats itself during the apparitions at Lourdes when Mary confirmed the dogma to Bernadette; 'I am the Immaculate Conception' . The significance, however, of the Duchess's appearance is ultimately only relative to the respondent and their subjective interpretation of what that appearance may mean to them on an individual level. That said there may be a case for claiming that the appearance of the Duchess was for the respondent a physical replacement, a mixture of reality and a parallel re-creation of the Virgin Mary and St Bernadette represented in one person.

The final section of the account concentrates firstly upon separation...and she threw her arms around me and she made me promise faithfully that I would continue to write to her, and she gave me her address...and secondly upon return...Kevin, is it you...two years later she still remembered me...The two events described here replicate factors explored earlier in this chapter; ...why do people still come to Lourdes...because Mary asks them to, because we trust in Mary, because of the pull of Mary...The

expectation that Mary is omnipresent at Lourdes continues to stimulate repeat demand from a body of believers who expect to be greeted unconditionally by Our Lady in an iterative relationship underpinned by unobligated faith. As Odell (2010) claims *"because of this role as Mother of the Church, which flows from the salvation given from Christ, the Blessed Virgin can be properly invoked as Advocate, Helper, Benefactress and Mediatrix"* (:19). Mary then, whether in a literal or metaphorical sense, is according to the Dogmatic Constitution of the Catholic Church 'her...who occupies a place in the church which is the highest after Christ and also closest to us'. The concept that Mary is the intermediary between humanity and Christ may be the stimulus for returning to Lourdes – it is the status of loving ambassador where parallels can be drawn with the account described in this testimony and the wider belief that Mary's function is to act as the intercessory channel between humanity and spirituality. This testimony takes the model of Marian apparition described by Laurentin (undated), *Mary, as the one closest to God and to Christ, is logically the first one called to communicate*, as a parallel reality; a series of events that mirrors certain elements of the Lourdes story in a contemporised setting. For the respondent the Duchess was perceived as the closest one – the embodiment of purity – a figurehead upon whom he could confide his innermost emotions and concerns.

This section commenced by presenting a concern that conflict and contestation were better descriptors or characterisations of Lourdes than community and colligation. While there is good evidence in this chapter to concur with this hypothesis the three testimonies in this section provide a backdrop for unobligated faith, complete Turnerian communitas and a need to return to Lourdes to re-create and re-live past experiences. Lowenthal (1985) suggests that in re-creating our pasts we find comfort, security and a sense of identity. Lowenthal (1985) may however be a point of distraction in drawing conclusions from this chapter as the theoretical point of focus shifts from expectation to nostalgia. Perhaps the word nostalgia is not the most accurate description but it does provide a template for understanding the habitual pilgrim and more specifically the motive and meaning that the individual may construct both prior, during and post-pilgrimage. The re-telling of stories at Lourdes does provide a past where belief can be authenticated, where attenuated memories and fragmented chronicles can become present reality (Lowenthal 1985), where the confines of the present can be lost in the celebration of the past. It is the stories at Lourdes that mark the line between contest, conflict and contestation; personal reflections that underpin a community of devotees striving to better understand the meaning of the apparitions at Lourdes on their personal circumstances and belief systems (see Horsfall 2000) [12].

4.2 Chapter Conclusion

The findings in this chapter present a complex narrative that is underpinned by faith, unobligated duty, responsibility, ritual and observance. The expectation that pilgrims may have parallel motives is not only naive but discredits the intellectual ability of the individual to engage in an activity that is generally based upon an unquantified faith and a belief system based upon 'inherited' accounts/testimonies of the miracles and cures one may associate with Lourdes (Williamson 1958). For the tourist the act of visiting Lourdes, while not carrying the

same religious significance, does offer a co-existent perspective of shared, parallel and counter positional life at Lourdes.

The findings in this chapter reflect the practice of visiting Lourdes. If one was to reflect on the research question of this study then it is the practice, which has been reported in these findings, that is the basis for determining the factors that influence the construction of individual's subjective meaning when visiting Lourdes. Of course one would be naive to present a pilgrim-touristic construction theory that was free from external markers (ecclesiastical, tour operator or other). What these findings do offer is a range of four thematic influencing factors, 1) the authority of the church and pilgrimage conflict, 2) the contestation of dual space, 3) the pull factors – experiencing Marian mysticism, cures and miracles – the meaning of pilgrimage, and 4) the testimonies of pilgrims – a confession of truth, which offer a glimpse of how individuals, whether pilgrim, tourist or hybrid visitor, construct a personal, subjective and unfiltered meaning when visiting Lourdes.

These findings present a snapshot of life at Lourdes during the busiest 'pilgrimage' week of the Lourdes calendar. While contemporary thinking in pilgrimage studies (Andriotis 2011; Collins-Kreiner 2010 (a) & (b); Odell 2010) stresses the shift in pilgrimage setting from the objective to the subjective these findings offer a number of counter-theoretical positions. While it would be inappropriate to discuss the theoretical shift at this stage it is interesting to note that the findings in this study present a complex existence at Lourdes that is characterised by such diverse features as piety, religiosity, individuality, control and freedom. This of course is not an exhaustive list and only partially offers the 'complete' view of a co-existent life at Lourdes between pilgrim, tourist, host and marker that is characterised by a visiting population that is both transient and temporal. Looking beyond these findings one may offer a view of Lourdes that is pre-determined, controlled and which only affords the visitor an immediate and filtered view of the 'real' Lourdes. Of course the use of the term filtered is artificial in the sense that there are, potentially, many external factors that will act as a filter when one is constructing a perception of what a site might mean (in both an individual and shared sense). What is evident in these findings, however, is the complexity of Lourdes both in a theoretical and practical sense.

The first theme that is presented in these findings challenges the notion of freedom by offering a control mechanism (the Catholic authorities) that frames the experience, thus relieving the pilgrim of freewill. If one is to take current theoretical positions (Andriotis 2011; Collins-Kreiner 2010 (a) & (b); Odell 2010) seriously then it may be difficult to balance the practice at Lourdes with the paradigmatic shift offered in the opening paragraphs of this chapter. For the participants in this study, however, control is reality;...It is a prescriptive church with certain rituals, people who are very much in charge and want you to know who they are... The second theme that is presented in this study considers the co-existence at Lourdes of multiple groups with multiple motivations. Marking individuals based upon why they have come to Lourdes may be inherently difficult but the findings in this study draw some distance between the polarised points of Smith's (1992) continuum (the extremes of religiously motivated pilgrim at one end and secular tourist at the other). While it may be over-simplistic to suggest that one can 'neatly' distinguish between such groups the second theme does preclude the

ecclesiastical view of Lourdes and offers an alternative contribution based upon the hybrid pilgrim/tourist perspective. The third theme put forward in this studies findings may appear exclusively for the religiously affiliated pilgrim; a separate liminalised state where only the believer can exist. This proposition may in fact have some bearing but one cannot escape the reality that a) Lourdes has a large tourist population that would not exist if it was not for the apparitions of over one hundred and fifty years ago, and b) therefore one can surmise that the tourist population is at Lourdes to experience the mystical and the unexplainable (a common phenomenon at tourist sites), and c) the town of Lourdes is dominated by two things; 1 – the majestic Basilica built above the apparitional site, and 2 - the tourist industry of Lourdes; which incidentally is significant even if one was to remove all the pilgrims. The final theme that is presented in these findings offers a personalised narrative that reflects the individual experience of 'being' at Lourdes. The testimonies are highly personalised, symbolic and presented as unconditional glimpses into an existence at Lourdes that is dominated by 'rite of passage'; an existential apparatus that enables individuals to make sense of Lourdes by creating a narrative that underpins belief systems and understanding.

Notes

1. Unpublished work undertaken by the author during a pilot research study, examining conflict between religion and tourism, at Lourdes in 2007 found that over 80% of respondents were returners to Lourdes.

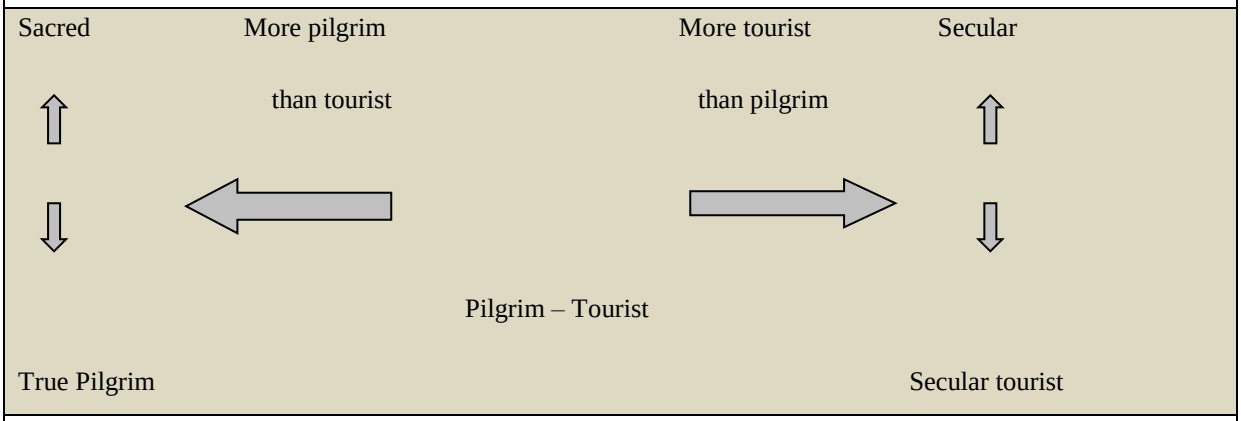
2. Immediately prior to the micro-ethnographic study at Lourdes during July/August 2010 the author was 'on pilgrimage' with the Diocese of Llandaff Anglican Pilgrimage to the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham. The pilgrimage was undertaken over four days and included several unstructured interviews with pilgrims and church leaders. The data from this study will be presented/reported in a research paper examining domestic pilgrimage in the UK. The data is not presented in this study.

3. The Lourdes Diary of Activities is reproduced under kind permission of the Diocese of Lancaster Pilgrimage Association. The diary is the actual itinerary that was followed by the Diocesan group during the eight days spent at the site between 23rd & 30th July 2010. The daily torchlight Marian procession, from the Grotto to the Rosary Square, is not included in this itinerary but there is a Diocese expectation that all members of the pilgrimage group attend the event each day of the pilgrimage. The candlelit procession is headed by a different Diocesan group each night and will last anything between two and four hours dependent upon how many pilgrims are in attendance. The torchlight Marian procession is viewed by many pilgrims as the highlight of each day; a culmination of Mariolatry activities (see Eade and Sallnow 1991 & 2000).

4. The notion of expectation in heritage and tourism has been documented by Ashworth (2006). Ashworth (2006) claims that when sites are subjected to a multiplicity of expectations it is quite likely that they will be contradictory and, it would be surprising if gaps could not be detected. Ashworth (2006) is referring directly to the contestation of parallel expectations at heritage sites; sites that, according to Ashworth (2006), are a) ...of multiple meaning, and b) as a consequence are now burdened with multiple expectations. On multiple and parallel expectations also see Timothy and Boyd (2003) pp 267.

5. The reference to impromptu shrines 'constructed to remember the passing of those of special meaning' can be evidenced in the more specific work of Eade and Sallnow (1991 & 2000) who stress how shrines provide a ritual space for the expression of a diversity of perceptions and meanings which the pilgrims bring to the shrines and impose upon it. This point is stressed by Hartig and Dunn (1998) in their examination of roadside memorials and the link to more secularised forms of pilgrimage. Ref Hartig, K. V. & Dunn, K. M. (1998) Roadside Memorials: Interpreting New Deathscapes in Newcastle, New South Wales in Australian Geographical Studies, March 1998, 36(1): 5-20.

6. The pilgrim-tourist continuum – a conceptual model developed by Smith (1992). The model is an early attempt in the study of pilgrim-touristic theory to separate the motives that one may have for visiting a pilgrimage site - Interestingly, Smith (1992) fails to identify or distinguish the points on the continuum between pilgrim and tourist. To dissect the motives of each group may be complex but there is compelling tourism research (Cooper 2008; Page and Connell 2009) which segments tourist's types into a range of motivational typologies based primarily upon personality traits of the tourist. Tourist typologies have their foundations in the early 1970s, and are primarily based upon sociological studies which attempted to categorise why certain types travelled to certain places (see Cohen 1972; Plog 1974; Dann 1981). Interestingly Page and Connell (2009) point out the difficulty of tourists to articulate the deep psychological needs that motivate tourist behaviour because they are not always fully conscious of these factors. Indeed it may be the case that even if tourists are aware of the multidimensional factors that influence motives they may not be willing to articulate or reveal those factors. The study of tourist typologies offers some basic explanations of the model offered by Smith (1992) but gives little insight into other determining factors, such as push and pull determinants, dominant voices in tourist groups and multi-motivations, which may have major consequences when individuals engage in the purchase decision making process. For further reading on tourist typologies and purchase decision processes see Swarbrooke, J. (1999) *Consumer Behaviour in Tourism* Butterworth Heinemann.



7. Taylor (2003) notes that dual space is a common characteristic of religious pilgrimage shrines; the notion that a site of display can remain the same, while its entire physical and aesthetic setting is transformed in order to display it, is a consistent feature of modern tourist developments. The Grotto of Massabielle is like many natural sites and monuments which are changed in order to be made available to great numbers of people, while also retaining the codes of authenticity (ibid).

8. Cures and Miracles: again at Lourdes

During a Press Conference in Paris on Thursday 16th March 2006, Bishop Jacques Perrier, Bishop of Tarbes and Lourdes, made an unexpected statement concerning the question of miracles in Lourdes. The bishop, who is co-chairman of the International Medical Committee of Lourdes (CMIL) with Professor François-Bernard Michel, wished to have a new approach to cures in Lourdes, especially concerning the different stages of recognising them.

The International Medical Committee of Lourdes has the power to speak, since it is the commission charged with studying all the cases of cures linked to Lourdes and reported to the Medical Bureau of the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Lourdes. The following document signed by professor Michel and a Press Release from the CMIL throw light in these new initiatives.

THE DOCUMENT OF PROFESSOR MICHEL

Introduction: Cures at Lourdes today.

One hundred and fifty years after the Apparitions of the Blessed Virgin Mary to Bernadette, medical science has changed more during these past fifty years than in the previous one hundred years, especially in the field of diagnosis and therapy.

Therapy, which was almost non-existent at the time of Bernadette, has become more effective and available to all. There is no sick person coming to Lourdes who has never received treatment and that is how it should be. This pushing forward of medicine has achieved such a degree of sophistication that it is more difficult than ever to appreciated in a cure what is applicable to treatment and what is contributable to an inexplicable medical phenomenon. If, however, a pilgrimage with sick and disabled pilgrims is undertaken it is because a cure was not medically obtained.

Pilgrimages to Lourdes have, for a long time now, been viewed from the exterior like an enquiry into a miraculous cure. But Lourdes should not be reduced to the alternatives - miracle or no a miracle. For the Church, as well as for the believer, a pilgrimage to Mary is more than a journey to a miracle. It is a journey of love, of prayer and of the suffering community. In Lourdes, in effect, the sick, who get out of their bed of sickness and isolation in their bedroom or hospital room, are welcomed, respected, surrounded and in a lively world where they have pride of place.

In order to give an updated of miracles in Lourdes, self-declared or scientifically declared, the Church together with the doctors, have undertaken a reflection to bring the situation of Lourdes up to date and report annually on their progress. It appears that many people believe because of a media "scoop" that nothing is happening at Lourdes.

Stage 1: From the "Declared" Cure to the "Unexpected" Cure

All possible information is gathered from the person who believes they have received the grace of a cure by the medical officer of the Medical Bureau who then proceeds with a primary evaluation to:

- to build up a file on the illness with a report on the current state of health
- to judge the person's personality in order to rule out trickery, acting, illusion, a possible hysterical or delirious pathology.
- to judge if this cure is clearly beyond the normal medical provisions of the illness in question note the circumstances of the cure itself and to verify if it happened according to extraordinary, unforeseen, striking or remarkable conditions.

Some of these declarations will be marked "**no follow-up**" or "**pending**" or registered as "**unexpected cure**" to be studied.

The bishop of the diocese where the person claiming to be cured lives will be infirmed that this cure is the subject of an enquiry and a doctor nominated by him can also be informed.

Stage 2: from the "Unexpected" Cure to the "Confirmed" Cure.

The files of the "**unexpected cures**" are studies to complete the authentication inquiry which consists of a comparative study of the medical documents before and after the cure. This is to ensure that there was an indisputable change from a precise medical diagnosis of a known illness to a situation of restored health. They will also look to see if this cure shows signs of being completely out of character with the development of this illness. The opinion of a large number of professional specialists will be sought by a member of the CMIL before the file is presented to a gathering of the CMIL. In the end, the CMIL will classify the cure as no follow-up or they will validate this cure which they feel has been "thoroughly discussed and confirmed"

Stage 3: Opinion for Recognising an Unexpected Cure.

This is the final stage where the CMIL will affirm the "**exceptional character**" of a cure according to present scientific knowledge. The file is then sent by the Bishop of Tarbes and Lourdes to the bishop of the diocese where the person who was cured lives. The support of the Lambertini criteria will assure that the cure has been found complete and lasting, from a serious illness which is incurable or of an unfavourable prognosis and that it happened in a sudden way.

Source: http://www.lourdes-france.org/index.php?goto_centre=ru&contexte=en&id=907&id_rubrique=907

9. Greetings. Ave in the Latin Vulgate from which comes Ave Maria.

10. The Apostle Luke gives the most comprehensive account of the life of Mary of the four Gospel writers. As Odell (2010) claims *"Luke is the primary source of the crucial but briefly chronicled events in the life of Mary. These are the events that related to the fact that Jesus was miraculously conceived and born of this virgin through the power of the Holy Spirit"* (:15). The Gospel of St Luke also includes the Magnificat (Chp 1 v 46-55) – a hymn of praise composed by Mary and clear evidence that although a young girl Mary would have had excellent knowledge of the scriptures. The majority of contemporary perceptions of Mary, Marian apparitions and Mariolatry are based on the scriptures of St Luke.

11. According to Horsfall (2000), Marian apparitions have increased significantly during the last two hundred years – during the 1800s Pope Pius XII dubbed the period the century of Marian predilection (adapted from Miller & Samples 1992).

12. Horsfall's (2000) study 'The Experience of Marian Apparitions and The Mary Cult' examines 16 characteristics of Marian apparitions – including the call for communal witness. The experience (pilgrimage) is also communal, argues Horsfall, in that it creates a community of devotees, ready and willing to go to meet, to pray, to explain the phenomenon to others.

Chapter 5 – Discussion

Now faith is being sure of what we hope for and certain of what we do not see.

(Hebrews 11: 1 Holy Bible: New International Version 1996)

Ex Gratia – as an act of Grace; given or made as a favour, not out of obligation.

(Author 2012)

5.0 Introduction

Research context and question

This chapter is structured around the four themes that emerged from the findings of this study; 1) the authority of the church and pilgrimage conflict, 2) the contestation of dual space, 3) the pull factors – experiencing Marian mysticism, cures and miracles – the meaning of pilgrimage, and 4) the testimonies of pilgrims – a confession of truth. The chapter will commence with an overview of the main theoretical considerations in the academic study of pilgrimage and tourism. The chapter will then continue by providing an overview of the four emergent themes in the context of the theoretical context, before a full discussion of the findings which form the subsequent structure and focus of the chapter. The chapter will conclude by outlining how this discussion contributes to the existing theoretical literature on pilgrimage and tourism by applying the outcomes of this study to the practice of visiting Lourdes.

The chapter aims to critically examine the theoretical literature/debates and findings of this thesis to achieve the research question and objectives of the study. It is an appropriate point to remind ourselves of the research question and objectives of this study at the outset of this chapter.

The research question is;

- What factors influence the construction of individuals' subjective meaning when visiting pilgrimage shrines?

The objectives of the study are;

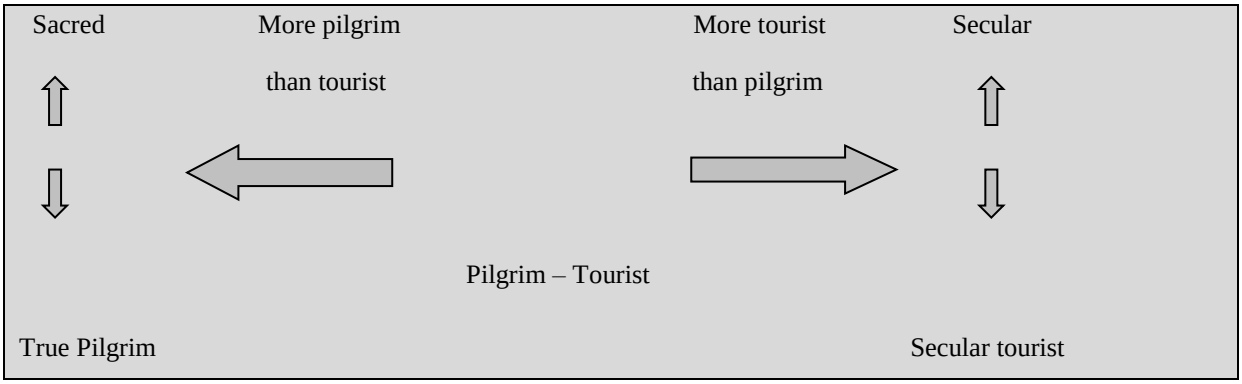
- To examine the relationship between pilgrim, tourist and marker at Lourdes;
- To determine the markers role in framing individual space at Lourdes;
- To evaluate the interrelating factors that contribute to the personal construction of meaning at Lourdes.
- To consider how one may apply the outcomes of this study to the practice of visiting Lourdes.

Theoretical context

This discussion considers the theory, methods and findings of this research through a series of analytical processes that will enable the reader to better understand the voice of the individual's subjective constructions and personal stories. An important goal of this research

was to encourage, support and facilitate Fetterman's (2010) notion of giving a voice to people in their own context. If one is to consider how these tasks may be achieved then one may have difficulty separating the pilgrim from the tourist, the profane from the sacred, and importantly the objective from the subjective. Smith's (1992) conceptual model (Fig 5.1), an early study of religious tourism, focuses on the pilgrimage site/shrine as the central unifying point around which the act of pilgrimage can be measured, explained and understood. By removing the story, of the pilgrim/tourist, from the subjective individual and placing the pilgrim/tourist as conceptual opposites, Smith (1992), alienates the view that it is subjective individual constructions that frame pilgrimage and the wider activities that one may associate with it including leisure, touristic and other recreational activities (MacCannell 2001). Smith's (1992) model merely provides an objective lens with which to view the act of pilgrimage, dominated by a gaze that is artificially set by the marker (operator, which in the case of Lourdes is the Catholic authorities that manage the site). Of course one would be naive to suggest, and this work certainly does not advocate, that subjective constructions are limited to parallel expectations (of pilgrims and tourists); this is an important juncture because parallel expectations merely suggests that pilgrims/tourists can be typecast based upon such random characteristics as personality traits or personal circumstances (commonly referred to as motivators), or the wider external determinants such as availability, accessibility or stability (Page and Connell 2009; Cooper 2008; Badone and Roseman 2004).

Fig 5.1 The Pilgrim Tourist Continuum



Source: Smith (1992)

The conclusion to the findings chapter in this study commences by stating that the individual meaning for visiting Lourdes is a complex narrative that is underpinned by faith, unobligated duty, responsibility, ritual and observance (ibid). While this may be a partial reflection of the pilgrim/tourist in this study it is nevertheless a limited observation of the more specific constructions and connections that one may associate with the complete process of visiting a site such as Lourdes. Of course, in the theoretical study of pilgrimage and tourism (Urry 1990; Vukonic 1996; MacCannell 2001), the more specific constructions may be influenced by the anathematical principle of control; the principle states that tourists (or pilgrims) are non-captive and therefore not rule-bound like other more structured obligatory activities. Swarbrooke (1999) attempted to partially bridge this conjecture by proposing a number of factors that may influence the decision making process; including characteristics, evidenced

in these findings, such as curiosity (...you have to do it...you have to tick it off the list...just in case we are missing out...) ibid, peer pressure (...those who are going because their mates persuaded them...) ibid, and liminality (...to mark the fact that you are leaving your everyday lives...) ibid, a theoretical position advocated by Turner and Turner (1978) in their study of pilgrim separation, limen and return. These factors may have some resonance for some individuals, and do fit neatly with the wider study of earlier touristic typologies (Cohen 1972; Plog 1974; Dann 1981), but when one considers a pilgrim touristic population that is transient, temporal and to a certain degree perishable (for an individual the act of pilgrimage cannot always be stored for future use), it may be reasonable to make the assumption that the events at Lourdes are constantly, and artificially, recreated to satisfy the expectations of the visitor - these events include the daily processions to the baths for healing (see plate 5.1), the evening torchlight procession (see plate 5.2) and the repetitive Mariolatry services that cater, during the summer months, for tens of thousands of visitors each week.

If events at Lourdes are a recursive series of symbolic and semiotic representations that reflect the marker (operator) then one could argue that the pilgrim or tourist has minimal control in defining the event as a personal subjective experience. MacCannell (2001) suggests that this is reflective of Urry's (1990) theory which offers a Foucaultian view of pilgrims/tourists as 'fitting into a global production of experiences that lack distinction, follow the same formula and trap the visitor in a hermeneutic circle of determinism' (ibid). This perspective was first offered by Boorstin (1961) who claimed that tourists/visitors/pilgrims have become an army of semioticians, looking for signs or images of cultural practices and attractions rather than seeking to understand their true meaning. This can also be applied to the act of pilgrimage (see Keil 2003; Murray and Graham 1997; Sharpley 1999). Urry (1990) attempts to escape the cycle of determinism by offering a level of subjective freedom within the institutionalised and structured experience (pilgrimage) that is laid down in advance and according to MacCannell (2001) jealously guarded by those who benefit most from them. MacCannell (2001) berates this parameter focused subjectivity by claiming that *"someone who is a visitor to Cuba is no more or less a subject of institutionalised representation than a visitor to Disneyland. But everyone must negotiate the terrain between competing discourses and produce their own distinctive combinations, juxtapositions, oppositions, similarities"* (:29). This according to MacCannell (2001) is the Foucaultian theory of subjective freedom. One may also assume that this is the ground of subjective freedom for the Urry (1990) tourist/pilgrim. The potential for Urry's (1990) Foucaultian tourist/pilgrim to escape the cycle of determinism is however limited [1].

Plate 5.1 Pilgrims queuing along the banks of the river Gave to take the waters at Lourdes

Plate 5.2 The Evening Torchlight Marian Procession at Lourdes

Collins-Kreiner (2010) attempts to make a theoretical shift from the early work of Turner and Turner (1978) Urry (1990) Smith (1992) Stoddard (1996) Swarbrooke (1999) and others by offering a perspective change that moves the focus of pilgrimage away from the external and general institutionalised elements to researching the individual inner experience (ibid). Collins-Kreiner (2010) observes the work of Fleischer (2000), Collins-Kreiner and Gatrell

(2006), Poria, Airey and Butler (2003 & 2004) and concludes that *"we can observe a change from viewing pilgrimage as a general and comprehensive phenomenon to its analysis as an individual, and hence a more pluralistic phenomenon"* (:8).

The perspective put forward by Collins-Kreiner (2010) stresses the movement away from the objective, namely the pilgrimage, to the subjective, to what according to Collins-Kreiner (2010) the pilgrims themselves are saying about the pilgrimage *"since they constitute its main component"* (:9). Recent ethnographical studies (Badone and Roseman 2004; Reader 2007) also discuss the importance of this shifting paradigm according to Collins-Kreiner (2010). A consequence of this shift presents a new way of theoretical thinking which supports the experience as *"dependent on the pilgrimage but also on the visitors themselves and their own perceptions of their visit and overall experience"* (Collins-Kreiner 2010: 9). The paradigmatic shift offered here is supported by Poria, Airey and Butler (2003 & 2004) who also advocate this approach and suggest that future studies must embrace and explore not only the individual impressions of visitors but also their differing experiences and their spiritual and practical needs (ibid). Making theoretical sense of how visitors to Lourdes construct subjective meaning presents several difficulties however (Dora 2012).

Theoretical influence & discussion chapter focus - An overview

This section will introduce the four key themes that emerged from the findings in the context of the theoretical influence and the discussion focus. The four key themes will form the subsequent structure and focus of this chapter.

1. *The authority of the church and pilgrimage conflict* - Firstly, conflict among individual pilgrims, pilgrim groups and the church authorities at Lourdes creates an atmosphere that is dichotomous, contradictory and partially constructed on the basis of power relationships; or those with perceived power. These factors are a critical influence upon visitor's subjective constructions. The perspective offered by Urry (1990) which relieves the pilgrim/tourist of freewill can be evidenced in this study – what pilgrims and tourists gaze upon when they visit Lourdes has been arranged in advance (Raj and Morpeth 2007). It could then be posited that it is the church that is the marker which sets the conditions of the experience. While current pilgrimage theory may advocate a paradigmatic shift which focuses upon the self there is compelling evidence in this studies findings to the contrary. This study has already reported that among participants the role of the Catholic Church in framing the experience was perceived as highly relevant (ibid).
2. *The contestation of dual space* - Secondly, Smith's (1992) conceptual opposites, while not entirely reflective of visitors to Lourdes or current pilgrimage scholarly activity, does provide a template for understanding the more general meanings and hence expectations that Lourdes is burdened with (Ashworth 2006). Lourdes has a multiplicity of meanings ranging from pious expectations, associated with miracles and cures, on one side of Smith's (1992) continuum, to the cultural itinerary of the secular tourist at the opposite end. A site with such a broad range of meanings has as its burden a multiple range of expectations (Eade and Sallnow 1991; Ashworth 2006).

For example, individuals visit Lourdes with a perception of what they expect to get from the experience (Eade and Sallnow 1991 & 2000; Badone and Roseman 2004) – this offers an alternative theoretical interpretation where the pre-visit becomes the dominant force in framing the subjective construction. The secular touristic perception of Lourdes, pre-visit, is formed by the external imagery that one may associate with the wider contemporised forms of place association (MacCannell 1976 & 2001; Lowenthal 1985 & 1998; Urry 1995) (see plate 5.3). The evidence in these studies findings would a) concur with this theory. As one returning tourist explained...It stuns me every time I come here...It is like Blackpool with Crucifixes... ibid, and b) appear to suggest that the tourist experience of Lourdes was consistent with their pre-visit expectations and subsequently how one constructs that experience, e.g. ...the shops sell the same old tat... ibid. Lourdes is a site that has had to adapt to the co-existence of a disparate resident and transient population since the apparitions took place in 1858, which incidentally is not an uncommon phenomenon in the development of pilgrimage shrines (Webb 2001; Taylor 2003). It is the co-existence at Lourdes that marks out the site, the sight and the sightseer – one may argue that ultimately it is the Catholic authorities that act as marker but equally one may posit that this is only one element of a more complex, and wider, set of circumstances that contribute to meaning when visiting Lourdes.

Plate 5.3 Twinkling Virgins...Snow Shaker Virgins...Virgin T Shirts...Virgin Key Rings... A Typical Image of Lourdes

3. *The pull factors – experiencing Marian mysticism, cures and miracles – the meaning of pilgrimage* - Thirdly, Lourdes is one of only eight Catholic Marian apparition pilgrimage sites in Western Europe that has been ecclesiastically authenticated by the Catholic Church [2]. Even though authentication does not exclusively mean a

pilgrimage site will attract pilgrims there is compelling evidence (Nolan and Nolan 1989; Taylor 2003; Odell 2010) that there is a correlation between (Catholic) status and growth. The findings of this study concur with this hypothesis...for a substantial proportion of Catholics, yes, I think that many of them genuinely believe that Mary did appear...on balance yes I do believe Mary appeared at Lourdes... ibid. The development of Lourdes was not immediate however. The story of Lourdes starts not with grandeur or Saintly origins but rather with the life of a fourteen year old girl called Bernadette Soubirous, the eldest daughter of Louise and Francois Soubirous, a miller who had fallen on hard times. The reality of the young Pyrenean girl was that she was seen by others as good-natured, gentle, simple and naive, but somewhat lacking in wit and an imagination that was dull. Bernadette had suffered with poor health from birth; she was asthmatic and had been particularly fragile since suffering with cholera at the age of ten. This image of Bernadette is somewhat obscured from the contemporary imagery and iconology that one may associate with this now highly venerated individual. The level of Bernadette's religious devotion was never questioned but it could never have been expected that this frail, young, rather invisible, individual would experience such a phenomenal series of events between February and July 1858. Incorporating the events of 1858 into the personal Christian life is somewhat complex. To paraphrase Odell (2010), this decision is usually based upon a number of interrelating factors such as experience, knowledge and expectations; possibly even the fact that the apparition has stood the test of time and has produced other miraculous wonders since the event (ibid) [3]. The significance of Lourdes is however, in a belief system that supports and promotes the channel that Bernadette first established to a higher power/order, by intercession, through the Virgin Mary. As the findings of this study state...well for some it may be desperation, but for most it is a searching, a conscious thoughtful search because Mary appeared here... ibid. In the words of Laurentin (undated) *"Mary has continually re-entered the doors to our sphere for reasons that only heaven knows...and yet, it seems clear enough that apparitions on this side of the door repeatedly show the same purposes"* (in Odell 2010: 24) [4].

4. *The testimonies of pilgrims – a confession of truth* - The first three themes that have emerged from the findings present a complex image of Lourdes that fails to fully reflect the paradigmatic shift offered by Andriotis (2011) Collins-Kreiner (2010) Poria, Airey and Butler (2003 & 2004) and others. To return to the seminal work of Turner and Turner (1978) one may use the template of liminality [5] and communitas [6] as a counter position to the Collins-Kreiner (2010) pluralistic individualistic theory. In reality the subjective theory offered by Collins-Kreiner (2010) displays elements that would not be out of place in a Turnerian Lourdes. This study, however, has already commented upon the work of Eade and Sallnow (1991 & 2000) who use terms such as 'tangle of contradictions' and 'coincident opposites' to describe the experience of Lourdes. If this is the case then the work of Eade and Sallnow (1991 & 2000) offers a third view of Lourdes which rejects both Turnerian communitas and Collins-Kreiner's subjective pluralism. Turner and Turner (1978) and Collins-Kreiner (2010) (and their main proponents) do however provide a template for constructing an image of Lourdes that partially reflects the testimonies that make up the final section of the

findings. The testimonies offer a glimpse of life below the radar at Lourdes – an opposing theoretical position where philosophical constructions are created, shared and then re-created; an informal network of stories that transcend objective and subjective pilgrimage theory and offer instead an apparatus for understanding what Lourdes means for the individual, their personal circumstances and importantly their relationship with Bernadette, The Virgin Mary and God.

5.1 Discussion

5.1.1 The authority of the church and pilgrimage conflict

The 'theoretical influence and discussion focus' section of this chapter commenced by stating that there is conflict at Lourdes among pilgrims, groups and the church authorities. The section continued by noting that conflict at Lourdes creates an atmosphere that is dichotomous, divisive and contradictory. Indeed the early work of Eade and Sallnow (1991) comments upon the contradictory nature of Lourdes based primarily upon expectations associated with visiting the site. Of course any site, whether religious or touristic, that attracts six million visitors each year will have a range of expectations based on what the visitor anticipates from their visit. This section will, however, examine how the underlying factors, patterns, relationships and connections, in combination with pre-visit expectations, contribute to the construction of subjective meaning and conflict when visiting Lourdes - either independently or as part of an organised pilgrimage itinerary; as both sets are represented in this studies findings.

Conflict at secular and religious pilgrimage sites is not an uncommon event. As Dubisch (2004) points out when referring to her personal experience on pilgrimage; ...We formed close relationships and strong emotional bonds with individuals with whom we would otherwise have had little in common and would never have met, let alone come to view as friends, had we not been involved in the Run for the Wall [7]. This does not mean that there are not tensions and divisions, both structural and personal, on the run. Long-buried memories and emotions can resurface during the pilgrimage, and interpersonal conflicts can erupt [8] ...organising such a large pilgrimage and taking them safely across the country can require that the leaders enforce a certain degree of order, which may be resented by some participants (in Coleman and Eade 2004). At Lourdes, Eade and Sallnow (2000) offer a view that is in direct contrast to the Turnerian (1978) philosophy of (anti-conflict) communitas; *"...the power of the helpers to direct pilgrims into certain areas and procedures encounters resistance from certain pilgrims at least. Boundaries which Brancardiers seek to maintain around sacred spaces become the sites of conflict as pilgrims attempt to shift, break down, or circumvent official limits and routines. These contests are most evident in such public zones as the esplanade and the area outside the baths"* (:74) [9]. As pilgrims move between the sites at Lourdes there is tight physical control by the shrine organisers. Eade and Sallnow (2000) do however point out that because pilgrims are in close proximity to pilgrimage shrines *"it is they who still have the capacity to disrupt the smooth order of the proceedings"* (:73).

There are numerous examples of conflict at pilgrimage sites that have been documented in both the seminal (Turner and Turner 1978; Marnham 1980; Nolan and Nolan 1989) the intermediate (Reader and Walter 1993; Eade and Sallnow 2000; Coleman and Eade 2004) and the contemporary (Andriotis 2011; Collins-Kreiner 2010) literature. The recurring theme in the study of pilgrimage conflict however is the relationships that frame the experience, the struggle between power and resistance, and between collective order and freedom for individual expression (Eade and Sallnow 2000). The combination of structure and order, often the antithesis of individual freedom [10] is in direct contrast to the concept of ritual space where one may practice diversity and construct a meaning that is independent, personal and orderless. The highly organised structure at pilgrimage sites imposes strictures, and severely limits the ability of the pilgrim to experience a diversity and freedom of expression that one may associate with, and expect from, the freedom of an activity that removes/separates one from the structure/order of everyday life (Turner and Turner 1978; MacCannell 1976 & 2001; Urry 1990). Helpers at Lourdes encourage 'correct' behaviour; an itinerary focused agenda that fits with the time and space set aside for sacred occurrences such as the two daily processions to the baths (which take place between 9am-11am and 2pm-4pm on weekdays and 2pm-4pm on Sundays and Holydays). To paraphrase Eade and Sallnow (2000) *"Lourdes, in fact, provides a striking illustration of the manner in which religious enthusiasm can be at once stimulated, channelled, controlled and curtailed by an internally differentiated and hierarchical cult officialdom"* (:74).

Three areas of conflict emerged from the findings of this study; 1) church authority 2) leadership and 3) participation. This study will now critique each of these three areas.

Church Authority

Laurentin (undated) offers an insight into how church authorities control the process of apparitions, from the actual event - apparition - through the development period (which is often characterised by conflicting interests, divisions and criticisms, usually of fraud), and during growth, both as a religious shrine and tourist attraction (which usually follows authentication) (see Nolan and Nolan 1989; Taylor 2003; Odell 2010). Laurentin (Undated) points out that there are inevitably tensions between authority and prophecy, especially when one considers that apparitions are usually accompanied by a tone of urgency to transmit a specific theme or message. As Laurentin (undated) reports, it is in these circumstances difficult for the church to maintain the cautious pace that careful judgement or discernment requires.

When apparitions are reported, if the Catholic authorities deem the event as having a basis of doctrinal and theological reality, the local Bishop, the Episcopal conference and even the Pope are involved in the assessment/measurement process (Odell 2010). Apparitions are a delicate matter for church authorities because inevitably they are events which are, for the majority of believers, invisible. Assessing an event that is impossible to judge proves difficult even when the evidence may appear compelling [11]. The events at Lourdes were deemed as highly unlikely by the church authorities during the early stages of the apparitions; Taylor (2003) comments upon the utter disapproval of the authorities during the apparitions, which

included several instances of Bernadette being 'hauled across town to the house of Police Commissioner Jacomet for interrogation'. Interestingly Jacomet allowed Francois Soubirous to take Bernadette home after concluding that she was sincere, of good character, not in it for any financial gain, and not under the influence of an adult. The treatment that Bernadette received both directly and indirectly from the church emanates from a general fear, according to Laurentin (undated), that the word of ecclesiastical authority will appear very pale to those who have seen the Blessed Virgin or others from heaven. There is however an immediate alternative danger, according to Laurnetin (undated), that seers risk setting themselves up as a parallel and competitive magisterium because they have seen. This according to Laurentin (undated) is evidence of inter-ecclesiastical confusion, conflict and contestation. Recent evidence of this type of apparitional conflict can be seen at other Marian apparition shrines such as Medjugorje, in Bosnia Herzegovina, a renowned pilgrim centre that attracts global interest and attention yet has no official authentication from the Catholic authorities and thus remains a site that is debated, controversial, and for many believers a dichotomy between personal and institutionalised faith (Matter 2001; BBC 2010) [12]. It is interesting to note that following the apparitions in 1858 Lourdes was the focus of intense scepticism, debate and general misunderstandings. It was ecclesiastical authentication that provided the first step in legitimising the events at Lourdes and the subsequent Christianisation of the region.

The events at Lourdes, which started with the 1858 apparitions, are characterised by tension between prophecy and authority according to Odell (2010) that must work itself out again and again. The tension will continue, suggests Odell (2010) *"but there is little need to be concerned that it will damage the church because of the assurance of Mary"* (:37), an assurance that transcends the needs of the individual and focuses on the fact that Mary is the Mother of the Church. This is an opinion shared by leading theologians (Catholic Encyclopaedia Online 2011) but does in fact create a further complication. The appearance of Mary, at specific times in specific locations and with a specific message may not appear to be of any significant individualistic relevance, in a general sense, but since an apparitional message is essentially a private revelation there is a sense of difficulty in defending the prophetic function of the message. The fact that Catholics are not obliged to believe in any Marian apparition has proven difficult for the Catholic authorities since theological doctrines clearly state that apparitions cannot add anything or take anything away from the Revelation that was revealed over two thousand years ago. Mary comes, according to Odell (2010), Taylor (2003), to repeat, to remind, to reinstate, to offer a prophetic message that for some will be fully embraced and used as a means of sharpening their faith. The view of Mary as intermediary focuses the attention of the faithful; it facilitates an outpouring of faithful obligation to Mary in spite of continuing cynicism, conflict and debate among Catholic observers. The evidence base of Marian visions, which includes reports of apparitions as early as 100 AD, is according to Laurentin (undated) because of Mary's unique qualifications to act as intercessor. The assumption of Mary *"both body and soul, into heaven prepared her for this role (intercessor)...the unique preservation and glorification of Mary's body along with her soul particularly equips her to be an intermediary between heaven and earth"* (Odell 2010: 24). The fact that Mary may be the most highly qualified Saintly entity to act as intercessor is well documented and supported (Turner and Turner 1978; Gesler 1996). It is

however the conflicting levels of acceptance, theologically and anecdotally, that continues to divide opinion among believers and non-believers visiting the shrine at Lourdes. The expression of faith, duty, observance and ritualistic engagement one experiences at Lourdes provides a baseline for opposing philosophies, theologies and general understanding. Lourdes is not a given or something that is fixed – it is constantly changing to reflect the needs of a visitor base that is diverse, multi-layered and multi-motivated – as McKevitt (2000) claims *"a conscious effort is required on the part of the pilgrim to use the appropriate symbols, myths, and rituals in order to vivify the experience of pilgrimage and to make real the sacredness of the place"* (in Eade and Sallnow 2000: 79) for themselves.

The opening paragraph of the first theme in the findings chapter of this study formulates a view of Lourdes that places the Catholic Church as the disseminator of knowledge pertaining to the site and thus the dominant control and authority force. If this view is to be considered authentic then one would need to consider the possibility that the authorities purposely control the objectivity of the experience by imposing a series of 'presuppositions' that the pilgrim/tourist accepts as reality. There is evidence in the findings to concur with this notion. A common perspective offered by pilgrims focused on the dominant role that the church plays in controlling, determining and interpreting the experience;

...It is a prescriptive church with certain rituals...

...the whole of the Catholic church is very very authoritarian...

...now they control...

Control is a consistent factor that one may associate with dominant authority; conflict and control reflect the struggle between power and resistance, and between collective order and freedom for individual expression (see Eade and Sallnow 2000). Power and resistance in the context of Lourdes is both perceived...but you are expected to take part in it... (perception) and actual...the Magnificent said we should do this today and they kind of said well we should have found out more, we thought it was a holiday, a go as you please and there would be the usual rep... (reality). Expectation for pilgrims is underpinned by ritual, observance and the other characterisers that identify and parallel church life 'back home'. The pilgrim however is not devoid of the typological strictures that may be the defining element which distinguishes them from the tourist. The categorising of pilgrims/tourists is however fraught with theoretical complexities (as discussed earlier in this chapter) especially if we are to adopt a framework which compartmentalises individuals' dependent upon certain behaviours; difficulty arises when behaviours overlap and fail to display rational or equitable reason. If the findings of this study were to present a view of Lourdes that mirrored church life 'back home'; where community, structure and emotional security were the dominant factors, then one could theorise that Lourdes provides the pilgrim with complete Turnerian (1978) communitas. It is however collective order at Lourdes that filters the individual expression of pilgrims and blurs, according to MacCannell (2001), the reality of the site for personal construction beyond an immediate and pre-determined gaze.

To ascertain the claim that control leads to conflict one must also examine the tourist perspective of the Lourdes community. The tourist receives Lourdes without the pre-determined doctrinal references which characterise the pilgrim and therefore offers a view which is clear of pre-visit ecclesiastical constructions (if we are to accept Smith's (1992) conceptual framework). Interestingly, reference was made, by one tourist; to the hierarchical structures at Lourdes ...This man felt that Lourdes was getting worse and that the clique in the higher order was controlling the whole thing (experience)... The view offered by the tourist here may not be fully reflective of the alternative parallel existences which artificially separate the tourist from the pilgrim (Timothy and Boyd 2003). The tourist displays an open and sympathetic understanding of a scenario that may be interpreted or determined in a number of ways; especially when one considers the multiplicity of forms that defines power and control.

The context of the reference to hierarchical structures was a direct conversation between the tourist and a pilgrim Brancardier (helper);

> ...The tourist referred to a pilgrim he had spoken to who had come to Lourdes to work but for some unknown reason had his badge (helpers identification) taken away. The tourist was critical of the authorities and paraphrased the pilgrims concerns that there is a clique in the higher order that is getting worse...

Such encounters at Lourdes present an alternative reality where tourist and pilgrim interact; where views, perceptions, attitudes and pre-constructions are re-established. Establishing how the marker controls such relationships, if this is the case, may be complex but there is evidence here that tourists and pilgrims are sharing stories and exploring issues of conflict and control. When asked if conflict, power and cliques are simply reflective of our everyday lives one member of the tourist group, that had first-hand encountered the pilgrim's story, expressed concern that ...it shouldn't here though should it... This is a significant statement because it expresses an opinion from the tourist that conflict, hierarchy and power should not be characterising factors of 'a place like Lourdes'; a site that is not primarily designed for touristic functions but is a site that originally was only for religious activity (see MacCannell 1976 & 2001) [13].

The discussion concerning hierarchy and conflict led other members of the tourist group to contribute by questioning two factors; 1) why can't you do this at home, and 2) who says you have to come here? These two questions are a direct response to the conflict that was conveyed via the pilgrim's story. Pre-constructions of Lourdes may differ for the tourist but it is interesting to note that the pilgrim's story was accepted unequivocally, unconditionally and a counter view was then expressed by the tourist. The tourist group questioned the sacredness of the site 1) why can't you do this at home, and 2) who says you have to come here? but importantly were able to differentiate between pilgrims and themselves ...but then again we are not religious are we... This is an important point for two reasons; 1) there is a questioning of the sacredness of the site which is formulated without the pre-doctrinal influence discussed earlier in this chapter, and 2) the tourist is able to separate themselves from the pilgrim; a subjective and comparative expression that extracts elements of Smith's (1992) framework and overlaps them with personal experience, interaction and negotiation.

The preceding paragraphs of this chapter may offer a realistic hypothesis that conflict is a direct manifestation of church power, authority and control. The tourist perspective of Lourdes offers a filtered view influenced by the immediacy of what can be seen - a metaphorical front stage view obscured by religion, religiosity, ritual and the markers of tangible touristic expectations, including, cultural markers such as souvenirs and defining characterisers such as the activities of pilgrims, both at the Grotto and the baths. As Sharpley (1999) points out; tourists gaze upon religious activity as a form of touristic spectacle where photographs and images are collected by an army of semioticians [14]. The perspective offered by Sharpley (1999) portrays the tourist as unable to filter, or negotiate, between their touristic state and the other existences of those at pilgrimage shrines. In reality this view is not reflected in this study – the tourist, while restricted in both experience and vision, is able to distinguish what separates and sets them apart from the pilgrim community. Church authority is however a dominant and influencing factor which marks the site whether the visitor is tourist, pilgrim or a mixture of both. It is control, order and power that characterise Lourdes and determines the flow of activities both in and around the shrine, whether religious or touristic.

To return several paragraphs in this study it was claimed that there is a - *need to consider the possibility that the church authorities purposely control the objectivity of the experience by imposing a series of 'presuppositions' that the pilgrim/tourist accepts as reality* – While this statement does have some resonance there is evidence in these findings that offers a more complex view; where church authority is recognised as a force of conflict, where presuppositions are accepted but not obeyed and where control is observed, accepted and in many cases circumvented.

Leadership

If one is to accept that the church authorities at Lourdes purposely control the visitor experience through order, direction, observance and structure then one may also make an assumption that within control there is structured objectivity and subjectivity (MacCannell 2001). Control however, by definition, manifests from a relationship that is one sided, that is based upon hierarchy and that emanates from a position of domination. If Lourdes was simply a release of penitential or Eucharistic outflow then control, order, ritual and observance would be central unifying factors that one could assimilate to the need for visiting Lourdes. There is of course a multiplicity of reasons for visiting Lourdes, and without digressing towards a study of motivational analysis at this point, it is generally accepted that Lourdes is predominantly associated with healing and miracles; both activities that require an intercessory intervention most usually from a Priest leading a group (Turner and Turner 1978; Nolan and Nolan 1989; Vukonic 1996; Taylor 2003). Power and control can be evidenced at Lourdes where competing discourses and expectations, where coincident opposites and contradictions are managed within a formulaic framework that is structured, ordered and almost impossible to remove oneself from. As noted earlier in this chapter ...the whole of the Catholic church is very very authoritarian, there are Bishops in charge of it, there is usually a chaplain with you and there are priests there, now they control... Control at Lourdes is created through the hierarchical structures of church leadership and is usually characterised by levels of

importance on an ecclesiastical basis. The findings of this study confirm that organised diocesan pilgrimage groups to Lourdes will always have a group leader that controls the group itinerary. The control of itinerary is an important point to note (this will be discussed later in this chapter) as it may offer a theoretical and perspective shift from the Collins-Kreiner (2010) pluralistic theory offered earlier in this chapter. Itineraries enable control through structure...There's a group leader... and he tells me what to do...I fit in with him...a tangible example of fitting in with the direction focused formulaic experience that is symptomatic of the leaders instruction.

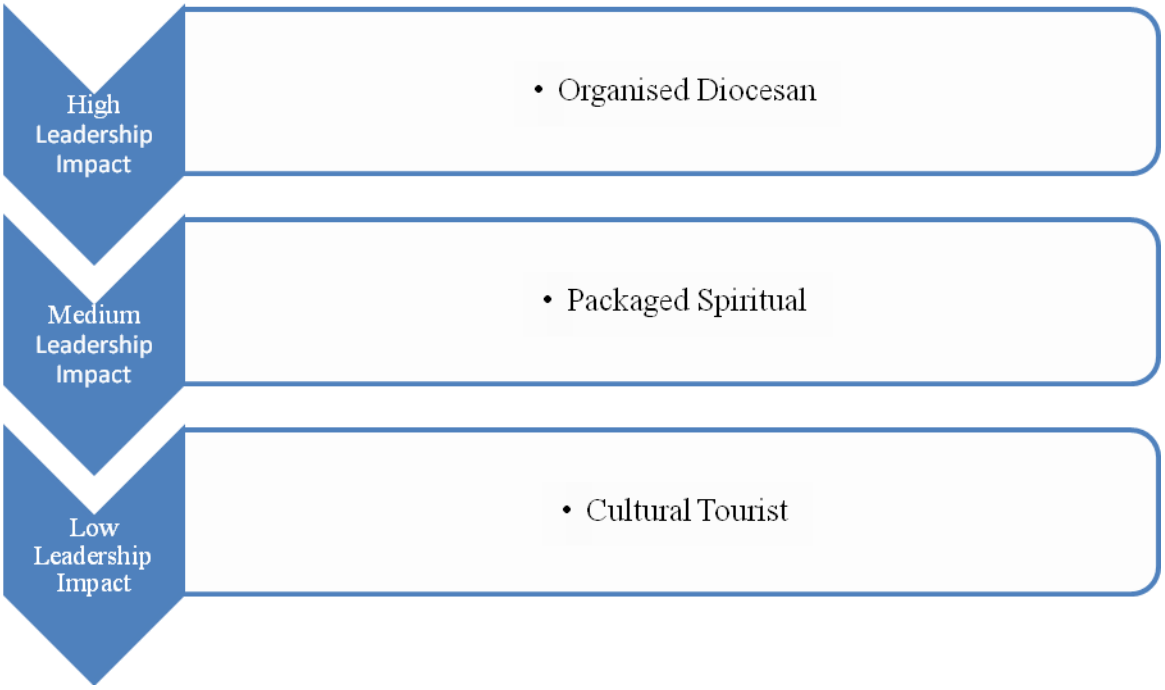
Conflict emerges from leadership at a number of levels and for a number of reasons. The force of control is identified as a relevant factor...there is usually a chaplain with you and there are priests there, now they control and someone like yourself who would not know, well I have seen clashes, very immature actually, there are human clashes like that, it's not all sweetness and so on, there are quarrels between adults...Interestingly during post-pilgrimage meetings it was noted that...groups again that meet will have post-mortems to try and sort out any misunderstandings...The construction of pilgrimage groups are generally individuals that have connections, ether diocesan or through mutual friendships which also influence expectation and construction at pilgrim sites. If one assumes Turner and Turners (1978) position of relational comradeship at pilgrimage sites one may draw parallels with the structured 'order' of church life back home where community, friendships, structure and emotional security are dominant factors. To suggest that church leadership, in all its forms, is simply attempting to replicate church life may be over simplistic especially if one is to adopt the Turners (1978) position of 'individual' geographical and social separation (limen) while undertaking pilgrimage. There is at Lourdes however an ecclesiastical expectation that the act of pilgrimage can achieve certain ritualistic benefits that can only be fully revealed by an intercessory agent i.e. Priest...

> ...picking up the threads for everyday life...pulling it all together...that is what a good pilgrimage director will do...that is what we are taught to do...that is what a tour operator cannot do...not the same as a Priest...

The perspective offered by the Priest may be the official ecclesiastical line but it does not offer an alternative perspective especially when one considers that pilgrimage groups are artificially constructed and led by individuals with their own understanding of a) Lourdes, b) the interaction between group members and other visitors to Lourdes, and c) the thesis that purports a social structure at Lourdes that invites freedom, escape, re...creation and leisured intercession [15].

The findings of this study present a complex perspective of group construction especially when one considers that group construction is not one dimensional. The findings chapter of this study identifies three separate groups (Fig 5.2) that visit Lourdes; 1) organised diocesan, 2) packaged 'spiritual' and 3) cultural tourist. It would be naive to suggest that the impact of leadership is equitable among the three groups but one may offer an assumption that the level of formal structure and leadership impact would decrease as one moves from the highly organised (1) through the less coherent (2) to the casual (3) (Fig 5.2). Evidence of group construction and the level of leadership intervention can be evidenced in the findings of this study.

Fig 5.2 Pilgrimage Group Construction and Leadership Impact – A Conceptual Framework



The three group construction perspectives offer an alternative to Smith's (1992) conceptual model which simply aims to dissect the tourist from the pilgrim without offering a perspective of competing discourses or influencing control factors. The levels of leadership impact and control are of course dependant upon the expectation of each group and how expectation is manifested through tolerance. The *organised diocesan* group tolerate group leadership and control because there is a shared vision and common objective that is not evident in the other groups. It is a shared spirituality and belief system that enables a central figure, Priest or similar, to negotiate a structured framework within the organised diocesan group.

Organised Diocesan

...how the pilgrimage group come together would be key, sometimes a parish decides they are going to go on a pilgrimage together...they have traditions of going on pilgrimage with their priest so that would give a coherency as it is a pre-existing group of people...but they will have a shared vision, a shared spirituality which cements their understanding of why they are doing this pilgrimage...

The *packaged spiritual* group has less coherence, and therefore less leadership impact, most often because there are likely to be competing discourses within the group dynamic, differing expectations and less tolerance of control.

Packaged Spiritual

...on other pilgrimages again that advertise in the religious press which are basically package holiday firms with a religious spin – the people who go on those will not know each other and there's probably going to be less coherence beyond the general desire to visit that country or that particular shrine on the tour...

The *cultural tourist* has limited access to the structural activities and formulaic networks of the organised diocesan pilgrim and therefore less leadership impact and control. Tourists interviewed at Lourdes perceived ritual and observance, central elements of control, as activities that only religious pilgrims took part in... these guys (referring/pointing to the pilgrims) must get something out of it...I'm just not religious in any way, shape or form...Responses from tourists at Lourdes maintain a level of distance from the perceived religious activities and therefore less interaction with control structures...If you truly believe in it and you have faith...well God is supposed to be everywhere so...this is not sacred, there is more spiritual peace to be found in your own church. Why would you come here?...

Cultural Tourist

...I have brought other people here and I always maintain the same thing...

...I walk them through, show them everything that they need to see and let them make their <u>own decision</u> about what they see...

...you know ours is not to force our opinions on others...

...if they like it then (alls) good, if they don't then whatever...

Church authority, leadership and conflict are not inseparable factors that one can isolate from each other. If one is to view control as the central feature of leadership then one could also draw a direct correlation between control and conflict. In the theoretical study of pilgrimage and tourism (Urry 1990; Park 1994; Vukonic 1996; MacCannell 2001) control is viewed as an anathema: the principle states that tourists and pilgrims are non-captive and therefore not rule-bound like other more structured obligatory activities such as work, child-care etc... (Torkildsen 2005). While Fig 5.2 offers a conceptual model of leadership impact, it does not provide an opportunity to assess the correlation between leadership impact and conflict. Assessing the link between two inseparable elements may however be impossible as it is dependant upon an infinite combination of variable factors; it is the pilgrims stories, however, that offer the most accurate assessment of how leadership on pilgrimage controls situations, reduces freedom, creates order from the orderless and according to Eade and Sallnow (2000) is predominantly manifested at the primary interface where pilgrims and leaders interact, where contests are revealed and where contradictions surface; As one pilgrim noted...

...when I went to the Holy Land, although I knew some people on it, it was organised by XYZ Pilgrimage Ltd, and a few of us (friends) went, there were lots of misunderstandings on that, we were a disparaged group, a very small group of 12 or 14 in 1980-something... a fantastic trip when I think about it even now, but lots of different conflicts... now they had thought they were signing up for a holiday and there were all kinds of misunderstandings... ...the Magnificent said we should do this today and they kind of said well we should have

found out more, we thought it was a holiday, a go as you please and there would be the usual rep – they completely misconstrued... Well I thought it was fantastic but these four they kept saying, well we are not happy but we have to go – well there was this conflict – well I think the rep said to them the clue was in there 'pilgrimage' but of course they didn't pick up on the word, they just thought we want to go there and they thought pilgrimage or whatever it is called but think it is a holiday...

Participation

The Turners (1978) theorisation of 'communitas' offers a template that promotes community and togetherness. To achieve togetherness, in a pilgrimage setting, one may assume that central requirements would be communication, community and interaction. The findings of this study offer a perspective of participation which is however contrary to the 'rose tinted' whole communitas that has been defended by the Turners (1978) and their main proponents (Marnham 1980; Smith 1992 etc...).

The expectation of diocesan groups visiting Lourdes on pilgrimage is that everyone will take part in the structured activities; a uniform expression of togetherness evidenced in the Mariolatry events such as the torchlight procession and the daily pilgrimage to the baths to request healing and penance. While many pilgrims accept that participation is an ecclesiastical expectation there is evidence in the findings to suggest a counter position which is evident among both the devout pilgrims and the less structured groups visiting Lourdes for alternative spiritual or cultural/touristic reasons;

...there is this magnificent in darkness thing, the torchlight procession with people walking around, but you are expected to take part in it, and people will respond, hey hang on a minute what is this? And you can see that some people are a bit taken aback by participating rather than spectating...

...there may be formal morning prayer, most groups will have the central thing, the Mass, every day, well if not every day there may be a day off, there are masses certainly at Lourdes, there is the torchlight in the evening, the big procession which is magnificent, there is an expectation that if you go to Lourdes, not all the time, but it is a religious thing within the discipline...

Participation at Lourdes is a reflection, for the devout pilgrim, of church life 'back home' where ritual and observance are central tenets. The mirroring of church life 'back home' may offer a perspective of duty and obligation among pilgrims that acts as a substitute for the more ritualised forms of worship one may expect and associate within formal religious organisations. Pilgrimage presents an opportunity to remain within the structured parameters of organised religion in an alternative itinerated geographical and social setting (Turner and Turner 1978). The focus of participation, for the pilgrim, is the pilgrimage itinerary, a pre-set series of events (see Box 5.1) designed to replicate and symbolise church observances which include the Blessed Sacrament (Eucharist), anointing of the sick and adoration (worship). The pilgrimage itinerary is the vehicle that church leadership utilise to control pilgrimage observance, activity and movement. Among the range of religious and social activities at Lourdes it is the itinerary that binds together the elements of control...there are social aspects but there are religious observances like some people may not like...

Box 5.1 Lourdes Diary of Activities – The Diocese of Lancaster

Friday 23rd July – Friday 30th July 2010

Friday – 8.30am MASS celebrated in the Chapel Notre Dame de Doulours
Saturday – 10.30am MASS of welcome celebrated in St Bernadette's Church
Sunday – 8.30am Sunday MASS celebrated for all the Archdiocesan pilgrims in the Grotto. 5.00pm Eucharistic Procession and Adoration. 9.00pm A service of Reconciliation celebrated in St Bernadette's Church
Monday – 2.30pm MASS celebrated in the Rosary Basilica. 5.00pm Eucharistic Procession and Adoration. 9.00pm Torchlight Marian Procession
Tuesday – 10.30am MASS celebrated in St Bernadette's Church. 2.30pm Stations of the Cross.
Wednesday – 9.30am The International MASS celebrated in St Pius X Basilica. 3.00pm MASS celebrated at Bartres. 9.00pm A Holy Hour with Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament celebrated at St Pius X Basilica.
Thursday – 10.00am MASS of Anointing of the sick celebrated at St Pius X Basilica. 3.00pm A farewell service celebrated at the Esplanade Altar.
Friday – 9.30am MASS celebrated at St Joseph's Chapel
In addition every day there is Eucharistic Procession and Adoration at 5.00pm and a Torchlight Marian Procession at 9.00pm.

Control through itinerary and participation is centred on offering the pilgrim a sense of individualistic choice that is influenced by social (individual) and community (group) duty. The fact that pilgrims keep returning to Lourdes, and specifically to the itinerary based experiences, is testament to the fact that expectations are limited, structured and in a sense formulaic...I have been to Lourdes three times to work as a volunteer...this is the right thing to do...I will come back again to work...there is not a lot of time to do things here, not with all the work we have to do...

Pilgrimage itineraries offer restricted flexibility but interestingly there was evidence in the findings that suggested that individuals who 'belonged' to the Diocesan group had a) made their own travel and accommodation arrangements to Lourdes, and subsequently b) felt more freedom to then move between Diocesan groups and activities...we came on our own to Lourdes even though we belong to the Lancaster Diocese...we have been to the Liverpool Mass and last night joined the Welsh pilgrimage for the torchlight procession...The independent Diocesan pilgrims were empowered to move between the Organised Diocesan, Packaged Spiritual and Cultural Tourist groups without the stricture or pressure that a pilgrim belonging to a formal organised Diocesan

group would encounter. The expectation to participate when one is outside of the 'organised' group diminishes once an individual openly separates (physically) from their home group. If one was to return to the earlier paragraphs of this section then one may offer a theory that individualism at Lourdes offers the most effective method for circumventing the ecclesiastical presuppositions so readily mapped out for the weekly visiting Diocesan groups.

This section has made a clear implication that Organised Diocesan groups visiting Lourdes are pre-formed, led by an official of the church (usually a Priest) and controlled through a structured formulaic itinerary. The re-occurring theme that one may observe when assessing the first section of this discussion chapter is the negotiation between conflicting agendas, interests, divisions and power. Power may infer that for the pilgrim the freedom to navigate between discourses may be possible but only within the confines of objective pre-determined presuppositions. To return to the introduction to this chapter the contemporary theoretical perspective put forward by Collins-Kreiner (2010) supported a position of pilgrim subjectivity where the emphasis shift offered a new paradigm characterised by the individual inner experience of the pilgrim since *"they constitute the main component"* (Collins-Kreiner 2010: 9). The Collins-Kreiner (2010) theory may have resonance among the less itinerated groups or individuals that visit Lourdes but for the majority of pilgrims the paradigmatic shift offered in the contemporary pilgrim-touristic literature is not reflected in the findings of this study. One may draw parallels with the work of Urry (1990) when considering control factors where institutions and structured itineraries are laid down in advance; where social hierarchies exist and are jealously guarded by those who benefit most i.e. the markers. Urry's (1990) perspective may in reality be partly reflected in the mechanics of Lourdes where for the majority of visitors it is the marker that frames individual space, constructions and importantly what Lourdes the site, the visitation and the experience means for the individual.

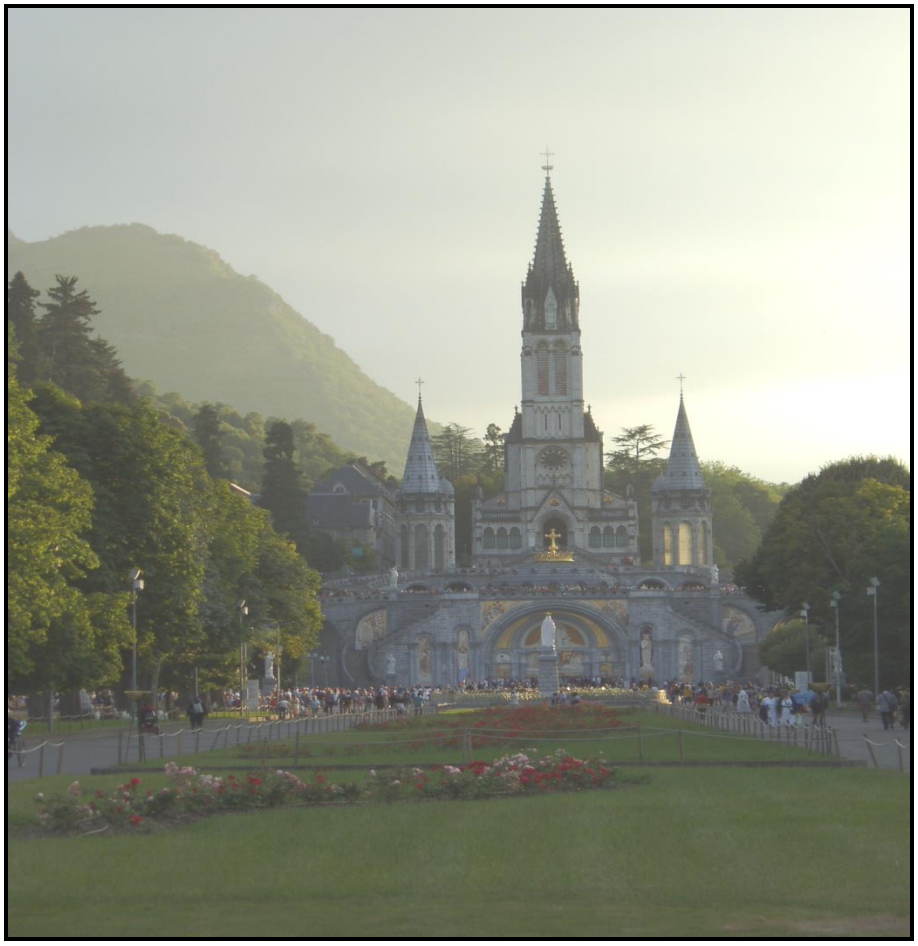
5.1.2 The contestation of dual space

The opening sentences of the findings chapter in this study offer an early assessment of the capacity of Lourdes to exist as both pilgrim shrine and tourist attraction. As Lasserre (1930) so eagerly proclaims; ...without pilgrims...the tourism industry of Lourdes would have recently been equal to zero...Lourdes owes its life and prosperity to pilgrims. Interestingly Lasserre's (1930) assessment suggests that if one was to extract the pilgrims from Lourdes then it would be the tourism industry that would suffer; not the religious shrine or any of the activities that one would associate with the religiosity of the site. This rather obtuse view of Lourdes is echoed forty five years later by MacCannell (1976) who points out that *"...traditional religious institutions are everywhere accommodating the movements of tourists. In the 'Holy-Land', the tour has followed in the path of the religious pilgrimage and is replacing it. Throughout the world, churches, cathedrals, mosques, and temples are being converted from religious to touristic functions"* (:43). Taylor (2003) offers a transformational view of dual space by noting that it is (dual space) a common characteristic of religious pilgrimage shrines; the notion that a site of display can remain the same, while its entire physical and aesthetic setting is transformed in order to display it, is a consistent feature of modern tourist developments. Taylor (2003) continues this assessment by suggesting that at Lourdes, the Grotto of Massabielle, is like many natural sites and monuments which are

changed in order to be made available to great numbers of people, while importantly, also retaining the codes of authenticity. Plate 5.4 & 5.5 offer two contrasting views of Lourdes; plate 5.4 is an image of the Grotto at Massabielle circa 1858 & 2010; plate 5.5 is an image of contemporary Lourdes circa 2010. The view offered by MacCannell (1976) and Taylor (2003), while theoretically acceptable, is perhaps only reflective of touristic growth at Lourdes - that may be attributable to post-modernistic motivation; such as spectacle and entertainment. As Urry (1990) points out *"tourism is prefiguratively postmodern because of its particular combination of the visual, the aesthetic, and the popular"* (:87). If one is to accept that the tourist is searching for spectacle, entertainment, fantasy and images of reality rather than reality itself (Boorstin 1961; Sharpley 1999) then one may also offer a theoretical position that supports Smith's (1992) and Stoddard's (1996) view of pilgrims and tourists as conceptual opposites.

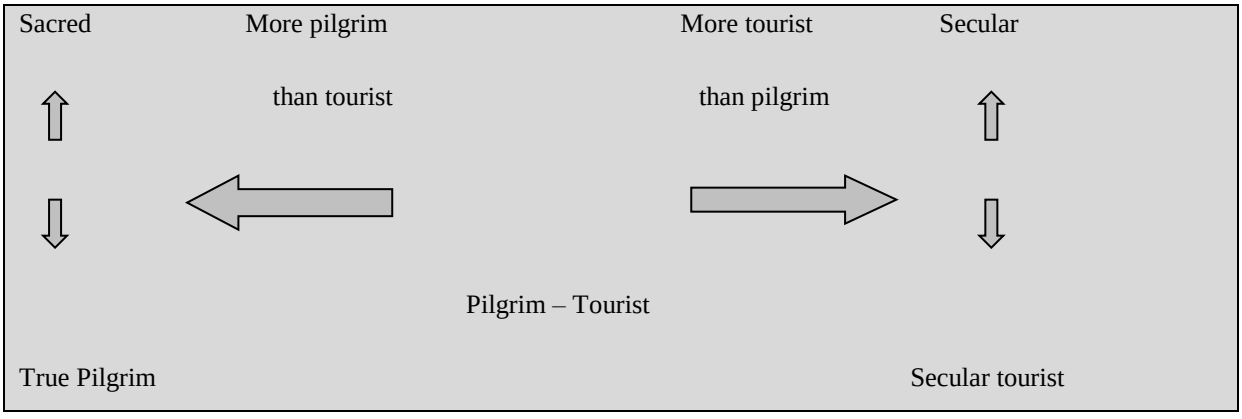
Plate 5.4 Massabielle Grotto in 1858 & 2010

Plate 5.5 The Basilica at Lourdes in evening sunlight; A contemporary view of Lourdes



Both Smith (1992) and Stoddard (1996) offer a clear distinction between the tourist and the pilgrim (Fig 5.3 + Fig 5.4) which supports the theory that each group can exist within parallel experiences as conceptual opposites. The theories offered by Smith (1992) and Stoddard (1996) may have immediate resonance - religious sites have held appeal for travellers for many thousands of years - but fail to negotiate a pathway through the complexity of objective and subjective meaning which both the pilgrim and tourist are constructing, re-constructing, interpreting and re-interpreting on a constant basis in order to vivify the experience of touristic or pilgrimage activity (McKevitt 2000 in Eade and Sallnow 2000) (see Santos 2003).

Fig 5.3 The Pilgrim Tourist Continuum



Source: Smith (1992)

Fig 5.4 Motives, Type of Traveller and Categories of Displacement

Categories	Travellers	Motives
Recreational	**Secular Tourist**	**Profane**
	Religious Tourist	
Religious	**Pilgrim**	**Sacred**

Source: Stoddard (1996)

Placing tourists and pilgrims as conceptual opposites makes an assumption that the tourist is, for their part in the process of pilgrimage activity, ideologically neutral. This according to McCabe (2005) may be a convenient theorisation that allows pilgrimage research to alienate the perspective of the tourist and to neglect how people (tourists)*"position their own activities in relation to those of others and to make claims about their understandings of the cultural discourses underpinning the activities"* (McCabe 2009 in Tribe 2009: 33). As Cohen (1974) pointed out - it would be overly naive to accept that the tourist can be typified as unreflective and commonsensical. Cohen (1972) developed a conceptual framework that attempted, in a basic sense, to offer a fourfold typology of tourist experiences: the organised mass tourist, the individual mass tourist, the explorer and the drifter [16]. As McCabe (2005) points out, up until that point (Cohen's 1972 typology analysis) tourists had been conceived as a largely homogenous group. The work of Cohen (1972 & 1974) is a significant theoretical shift from the early work of Boorstin (1961) who naively, and now famously, compared tourists to an army of semioticians [17] looking for signs or images of cultural practices and attractions rather than seeking to understand their true meaning. According to Boorstin (1961) the contemporary traveller, of 1960's America in the first instance, is only interested in the here and now, a culture where the whole world is made a stage for fast lived, spurious & contrived spectacles/pseudo-events. Boorstin's (1961) theory, while seemingly outdated, does have resonance with the invasive examples of tourism set out in the earlier paragraphs of this section (also see MacCannell 2001). Whether one accepts McCabe's (2009) antithesis to the position of ideological neutrality or Boorstin's (1961) pseudo-touristic motivation theory it is evident from the findings of this study that the pilgrim and tourist, while sharing dual space, demonstrate both individual and shared meanings. As one pilgrim commented;

...well yes – take ten pilgrims and you will find ten different motivations for going, from those who are going because they want to pray, from those who are going because they are looking for a cure, to those who are going because their mates persuaded them...

There are, of course, competing discourses to navigate ones way through when considering the duality of usage at pilgrim shrines. Whether one accepts the Smith (1992) / Stoddard (1996) theoretical position or a counter-position, that is more blurred in terms of how one may separate the tourist from the pilgrim, there are distinctive markers that may provide a basis for understanding the separation process. The theoretical markers of tourism (Page and Connell 2009; Cooper 2008) advocate a phenomenon (touristic activity) that is driven by pre-determined expectations, perceptions and imagery. The markers of touristic expectation may support the pre-supposition that one cannot escape the immediacy of what one is experiencing (McCannell 2001), but it is the sharing of space that creates an alternative position; where parallel experiences derive from the sharing of heritages, markers, symbols and perceptions. That said, there is clear evidence in the findings of this study that there is a singular discourse (language in this context) that has been adopted by the tourist and is used to frame the 'whole' or 'wider' experience of visiting Lourdes;

...this is commercial crap...YES...commercial crap is what it is...

...the shops sell the same old tat...

...It stuns me every time I come here...It is like Blackpool with Crucifixes...that's the only way I can describe it...

...this is just exploitation of someone's beliefs...

...there are people over there who believe that is Holy Water, but I bet you it's not Holy Water...that's the water that's been blessed over there...

The language that is being used to describe Lourdes is formed by the external imagery that one may associate with the wider contemporised forms of place association (MacCannell 1976 & 2001; Lowenthal 1985 & 1998; Urry 1995) [18]. The fact that one of the tourist groups comments referred to Lourdes as an ...absolute disgrace... has clear significance as it questions the parallel religious activities and the motives that one may have for taking part in such activities;

...If you truly believe in it and you have the faith it shouldn't be commercialised and hyped up and money made out of it like it is...

The perception of Lourdes from the tourists' perspective is of an overly commercialised site which is not sacred anymore (ibid) (...there's nothing sacred or special anymore...). This is a very important juncture in this study because it questions (again) the contemporary theoretical shift, which emphasises the subjective constructions of pilgrim/tourists, and which is reported as a counter position to the Smith (1992) / Stoddard (1996) paradigms. The findings offer a tourist view which is self-separating and may indeed be reflective of the now dated Urry (1990) / Sharpley (1999) predictions that the 'postmodern' tourist is trapped in a circle of determinism; as though the tourist is trapped in an hermeneutic circle searching for the signs

that denote the site – a metaphorical capturing of those images which characterise the site and thus satisfy the tourists quest for fulfilment (see MacCannell 2001).

The site at Lourdes is however a shared space that has to cater for a variety of expectations, needs and wants. The organised pilgrim visiting Lourdes may have specific motivations such as healing, miracle or community, but also has a leisure/touristic function when not taking part in organised itinerated activities...now organised pilgrimages do not leave a lot of time for the tourism, if you go to Lourdes as a helper for instance, and lots of young people go on a helpers package, then you have duties everyday – unloading planes and trains, pushing people around the Grotto in the chariots available and so the free time you get tends to be at eight o clock at night. The free time then centres around the bars of Lourdes and each British pilgrimage has its own bar which is where they tend to hang out...The pilgrims interviewed at Lourdes drew clear distinctions between their religious activity and the 'touristic' activity which proceeds the pilgrimage duties;

> ...myself and a couple of guys of similar age, we would go out to wherever we could get to without badges because sometimes you can wear gear and just be in a French bar with other French guys having a drink. We would talk to them in whatever French we could muster and say we are from Britain, we would make certain that we did not give an impression that we were pilgrims because you wanted two things, firstly to get away from it for that evening but also to mix, to be in France, to enjoy, to have a few beers and unwind and not be on pilgrimage. Obviously if you went into Lourdes they may guess that you are on a pelerin (on pilgrimage) but we just wanted to have a little break...

The pilgrim continued to explore how taking part in touristic activity enabled escapism and anonymity;

> ...yes because you just have a name badge and when you stop wearing that you can go out and have a few beers and a chat as you would anywhere – so there is an unwinding and getting away from it because it can be quite intense...

The escapism from obligatory duty offers a view that is stimulated by observance of duty but which also includes elements of the touristic function that Lourdes provides...to return to Lasserre (1930) one may offer a view that it is pilgrims that fuel the tourism industry at Lourdes, as it is pilgrims that are the primary source of visitors to Lourdes. To return several paragraphs it is interesting to note however that the majority of visitors purchasing souvenirs from the 'tacky' (Marnham 1980) shops are in fact pilgrims – most usually on an organised pilgrimage – As Marnham (1980) claims, the souvenir (tourism) industry at Lourdes is fuelled by supplying an enormous demand – mostly to pilgrims! [19].

The pilgrims interviewed for this study were however keen to draw a clear distinction between themselves and the tourist visitor. What emerged from the findings was a pilgrim population that both physically and perceptually wanted to segregate themselves from the 'tourist' population...the tourists are here to 'do the churches' – I couldn't quantify it but there are a lot... Equally the view among pilgrims sympathised with what, to an outsider (tourist), must appear to be a bizarre set of rituals that not only perceptually take place at Lourdes but which are also overtly celebrated...what is interesting to watch is people (tourists) who are not used to this sort of thing suddenly at Lourdes and seeing bits of smoke and hearing different words people say...sometimes the tourists are quite emotional with it all... Of course it would be naive to suggest that one could generalise the global tourist population as one homogenous group – as McCabe (2009) points

out *"there are consequently many different ways in which tourists doing the essentially the same form of activity, cannot be categorised as being the same type of tourist*" (in Tribe 2009: 34). The theory put forward by McCabe (2009) is important as it offers the tourist an existential (denying objective universal values) existence which shifts radically away from a) what has been reported in the earlier paragraphs of this section and b) supports contemporary theory (McCabe 2009 in Tribe 2009) that there has been a more general shift towards *"postmodernis(tic) thinking, which has tended to emphasise the subjective, multiple and negotiated characteristics of individuals' experiences over more reductionist and rigid conceptualisations"* (:34). Negotiating ones way through a series of pre-determined perceptions, that one may view as marker/operator driven, is however a complex process.

Pre-formed expectations dominate the tourist lens at Lourdes. Lourdes is a site that has become synonymous with 'tackiness' and 'irreverence' (Marnham 1980) and it is this view of Lourdes that is constantly re-created by the tourist, both at individual and marker level. The co-existence of pilgrims and tourists at Lourdes may not however be as inconsequential as it may appear. Lourdes has had to adapt, during the last one hundred and fifty years, to a population that is disparate, transient, spatially unique and intermixed with both tourist and pilgrim – each competing for their individual space, discourse and reality.

It is interesting to note that among organised pilgrim members there are similar (to the tourist) pre-formed expectations that are laid down in advance, controlled through an ecclesiastical mechanism and guarded by those that act as leaders. Navigating ones way through a space that has dual and parallel expectations, meanings and outcomes might be the point at which this section draws to a conclusion - by agreeing that the tourist and the pilgrim are conceptual opposites. The difficulty in offering this conclusion is that there is evidence in this study to support a theorisation that the tourist and pilgrim are actually not as far removed from one another as it may, in a theoretical sense, appear. The findings of this study offer a view that makes it clear that the pilgrim and the tourist are able to a) distinguish between each other based upon expectation, b) move between corresponding activities, and c) identify what they are - potentially - going to get out of their visit. These three factors offer a middle ground to both Smith (1992) and Stoddard's (1996) conceptual frameworks; they offer a relational mechanism that supports interplay and cross-fertilisation of individuals and activities especially when one considers that...there is actually a lot of inter-mixing...among the pilgrim and tourist population. The pilgrim population have a clear understanding why they are at Lourdes and while, as discussed earlier in this section, there is an appetite for segregation among those polarised points on Smith's (1992) framework (true sacred pilgrim and true secular tourist) there is also a recognition that bridging the gap between the polarised points is dependant upon negotiated space...but to make a distinction here – there are those who are travelling somewhere as tourists that may look in on a shrine because it is a cultural attraction and then there are those who are motivated by either the desire to pray out of respect and devotion for God or the Saint honoured at the shrine, or because they are looking for answers to prayers...and equally...those categories who are all pilgrims with different kinds of motivation they may look at the tourist things and that is the other flip side...The dual use of space is probably best summed up by an organised diocesan pilgrim who suggested that...I think pilgrimage is so individual, every person or pilgrim will have a distinct and unique reason for signing up for it...

While pilgrims and tourists, if we are to separate them, would advocate the use of dual/parallel space, the findings in this study may offer an alternative hypothesis that 'it is the outer edges of the Smith (1992) Stoddard (1996) conceptualisations that are most reflective of the relationship between the pilgrim and tourist when co-existing at Lourdes'. First impressions may support such a theorisation;

...this is commercial crap...YES...commercial crap is what it is...

...If you truly believe in it and you have the faith it shouldn't be commercialised and hyped up and money made out of it like it is...

...these people must get something out of it or they wouldn't come...

And poignantly;

...I don't dislike the place, don't get me wrong...**I'm just not religious in any way, shape or form...**

The theory put forward here may be the most convenient in terms of a separation process but it does not in reality address the more complex issues that take this study back to the middle ground of the Smith (1992) Stoddard (1996) conceptual frameworks. It may in fact be McCabe (2009) who is more appropriately reflected, in the reality of the findings in this study, when he refers to a shift from the earlier (1980s/1990s) reductionist and rigid conceptualisations to a counter position (of both pilgrims and tourists) which advocates a more general shift towards emphasising the *"subjective, multiple and negotiated characteristics of individuals' experiences"* (in Tribe 2009: 34). This discussion has already stated that the findings would suggest that the polarised pilgrim and tourist have the ability to a) distinguish between each other based upon expectation, b) move between corresponding activities, and c) identify what they are - potentially - going to get out of their visit. The study has also positioned a view that these three factors may be the points at which co-existence moves from polarisation and reaches a middle ground characterised, not by segregation, but by acceptance, interplay and cross-fertilisation of activities and parallel usage of meaning [20]. The middle ground may be where external imagery and pre-formed ecclesiastical markers become a less dominant influence. This may in fact be an idealistic view of co-existence at Lourdes but it does offer a realistic translation of the shared activities and experiences which while obviously different - between pilgrim and tourist - do present an inclusivity of existence that is reflective of the multiplicity of reasons that one may have for visiting Lourdes. It is a position that removes the rigidity of motivational study and instead offers a conceptual framework characterised by personal meaning and reason.

5.1.3 The pull factors – experiencing Marian mysticism, cures and miracles – the meaning of pilgrimage

The reasons for visiting Lourdes are complex. If one was to deconstruct the discussion that has already taken place in this chapter there is good evidence of multiple factors that both stimulate (push) and determine (pull) individuals to visit Lourdes (whether pilgrim/tourist or hybrid) [21]. The overwhelming factor that is the primary stimulus for visiting Lourdes, however, is the mysticism that surrounds the events that took place between February and

July 1858 (see Odell 2010; Taylor 2003: Marnham 1980; Turner and Turner 1978). The following explanation, which conveys the unexplainable manifestation of Mary at Lourdes, was offered by a Priest leading a group of pilgrims to Lourdes;

> ...why do people still come to Lourdes...because Mary asks them to, because we trust in Mary, because of the pull of Mary...

The eighteen apparitions of the Virgin Mary to Bernadette Soubirous took place between February 11th and July 16th 1858. The apparitions took place at a rocky area called Massabielle located on the outskirts of the old town of Lourdes. The large rock Grotto at the bottom of the hill at Massabielle had been hollowed out following centuries of water erosion and was indeed part of a network of Grottos that are not uncommon along the Pyrenean chain (see Plate 5.4). Massabielle (Masse Vieille), the old rock, was a place of much superstition in Lourdes prior to the apparitions of 1858. This was not an uncommon phenomenon in 1850s France; as Lefevre (in Taylor 2003), the nineteenth century anthropologist points out, mostly all French provinces have trees and Grottos that are frequented by fairies, sorcerers and other mysterious creatures. Such fantasies would have been part of traditional folklore for the Pyrenean mountain people and the network of Grottos in the immediate vicinity of Massabielle would have held superstitions mostly associated with the discovery of human, possibly sacrificial, bones at several Grottos in the region including Massabielle; although there remains little evidence of the exact nature of the superstitions. Massabielle, in 1858 was an area of intense curiosity. The Pyrenean tourist trail encompassed much of the Grotto along the Massabielle chain heading westwards toward the Grotte de Saint-Pe where the bones of animals and humans had been discovered. The discovery at Saint-Pe fuelled the speculation, and superstition, that the caves had been the sites of human sacrifice. Although, as Taylor (2003) notes, the superstitions were mostly intrinsic, localised and predominantly oral traditions passed from generation to generation.

The old rock at Massabielle had long been associated with the Devil, sorcery and mysticism, and this in many ways may account for Louis Soubirous's reference to evil and sorcery, following the early apparitions [22] (see Odell 2010; Taylor 2003; Williamson 1958, for a full diary/chronology of the apparitions at Lourdes). Massabielle was often used by shepherds seeking refuge from Pyrenean storms, a place that had no aesthetic significance for the local people, but rather a place that was wild and without picturesque form. The practice of sheltering at Massabielle was not without danger as it was rumoured that wild swine and snakes favoured the Grotto as a favourite haunt. Wild animals were not the only danger at Massabielle, the local people spoke of haunting cries frightening local shepherds and vagabonds. Massabielle had numerous connections with pagan worship. It has been documented that the spring at the Grotto may have been the focus of the Roman festival of Fontinalia, the worship of natural forces, here evidenced in the spring and the waters supplying man with the basic Godly needs of water (Odell 2010; Taylor 2003). This phenomenon can be evidenced in all major religions and empires: the veneration of deities manifested in water, springs or rivers (see Nolan and Nolan 1989).

The Christianisation of the Grotto at Massabielle is according to Williamson (1958) the first chapter in the tale of Lourdes. It would not be cynical to question the coincidence of the Gospel that was chosen to be read (John Chapter 5 v 1-8) at Mass the day after Our Lady's apparition that pointed out the spring at Massabielle to Bernadette; one can draw direct parallels between the text that was chosen and the events that were taking place at Lourdes, especially as the text refers to a) a place of special significance, b)...that is characterised by water..., and c) the subsequent miracle that was performed.

'Some time later, Jesus went up to Jerusalem for a feast of the Jews. Now there is in Jerusalem near the Sheep Gate a pool, which in Aramaic is called Bethesda and which is surrounded by five covered colonnades. Here a great number of disabled people used to lie – the blind, the lame, the paralysed. One who was there had been an invalid for thirty-eight years. When Jesus saw him lying there and learned that he had been in this condition for a long time he asked him, do you want to get well? Sir, the invalid replied, I have no one to help me into the pool when the water is stirred. While I am trying to get in, someone goes down ahead of me. Then Jesus said to him, get up! Pick up your mat and walk. At once the man was cured; he picked up his mat and walked'

(Holy Bible: New International Version 1996)

The individual, personal and subjective sense that one must make from Mary's call, in ones particular circumstances, is one of the key drivers of how one constructs meaning at Lourdes. If one is to accept Laurentin's (undated) thesis, that Mary appeared at Lourdes to manifest the hidden presence of God, to renew community life, to convert hearts, to reawaken and stimulate faith, and, to renew hope and dynamism in the church, then one may surmise that these factors are predominantly aimed at the restoration of religious commitment. The fact that Mary appeared at Lourdes, the place, is in fact an overriding feature of the apparitions. The personal connection with Mary (the intercession through Mary to Christ) is achievable on a number of levels at Lourdes where the mystical 'arrangements' first demonstrated by Bernadette are manifested in both views (perceptions) and actions (attendance at Lourdes and participation in events such as 'taking the waters' and 'visiting the Grotto'). If one was to sample this perception among the participants in this study then it becomes evident that there are, even among the most devout pilgrims – i.e. those on an organised Diocesan pilgrimage led by a Priest or equivalent - a range of perceptions regarding the apparitions at Lourdes and the subsequent link that Lourdes may have to Mary via an intercessionary portal or channel. Among those sampled there are four distinguishable views of the apparitions at Lourdes. One can disaggregate each group from the more generalised visitor base, based upon levels of belief in both the events at Lourdes (in 1858) and the more specific personalised beliefs that one may hold concerning the post-apparitional portal from the human to the spiritual.

Group A - Those that accept the apparitions at Lourdes unconditionally, both as an original event (1858), and subsequently as a re-occurring phenomena where one can re-enter the apparitional portal via the Grotto; thus accessing Mary via an intercessionary channel;

...you know this is a channel to God, a connection...

...that is right, thin places the Celtic writers call this...

...(we) accept it...this is an authentic site...

...for a substantial proportion of Catholics, yes, I think many of them genuinely believe that Mary did appear to St Bernadette at Lourdes...

...on balance yes I do believe Mary appeared at Lourdes...I have thought about it lots and now I have been here I am satisfied that Bernadette did see her, that she did speak, so yes I do believe in the story...

And importantly referring to Lourdes as a place that retains the channel to Mary, via a healing process, one pilgrim made the following point;

...you know what is important here; the crucial thing is although there are many places that Mary is said to have appeared, in Lourdes she specifically said let the sick people come here – so out of all the possibly genuine apparitions, Lourdes is the one where God seems to have sent Mary to put her finger on it and said look, if you are ill this is the place to come...

Group B - Those that accept the apparitions at Lourdes happened but do not follow the doctrine that supports the continuation of the apparitional experience; thus discounting the intercessionary status of the place of Lourdes as a portal between the human and the spiritual;

...well I am sorry but I would have to say no – I would say these (pilgrimage) sites are for me of varying degrees of interest and inspiration and whatever – but I would have to say that I disagree with what has been said that there are these places that we can somehow interact with whoever (meaning Mary) – because for us an article of faith when there is what we call the Mass, that for us is it – that is when we access...

...and then saying you know Mary, the Virgin Mary and so forth is a little out of place (referring to repeated re-entering), the central act is the Mass, and hence at Lourdes the church was built immediately to celebrate it (Mass)...

Group C – Those that are Catholics but do not fully accept apparitional events at Lourdes;

...but there will be Catholics who are sceptics and you don't have to believe in Lourdes to be a catholic, the Vatican has given it it's recognition, so the Vatican's presumption is that there was a genuine apparition there, but you can't be thrown out of the Catholic church for saying I do not believe that Mary appeared at Lourdes...

...it's not a doctrine; it's an optional extra...

...there certainly is a lot of scepticism about it...

...so it isn't universally accepted that Lourdes, well, is true...

...and devotion to our lady ranges...

...well you know Simon there was no actual claim, it was really an invite (to the spring) to ask people to wash and repent...I don't know, I think it may (Lourdes) have got caught up in a contemporary thing – you know a bit like the Spa thing, like Vichy and the ones in this country, I cannot remember what they are called now, it was a bit like if you go to the seaside or to one of the Spas it will actually be better for you – and you know I just wonder in Lourdes sometimes whether it is part of that – you know I have not read all the stories of the claimed cures and miracles...but...

Group D – The first three groups presented in this discussion make linear sense of 'complete and partial belief' in Lourdes as 1) an apparitional site and as a site which retains intercessionary status to act as a channel between the human and the spiritual (Group A), 2)

acceptance of the apparitions but no belief in the continuation of the site as a portal (Group B) and 3) (Group C) which questions the reality / provenance of the apparitions at Lourdes. Group D contains those individuals that have experienced Lourdes, maybe many times, but are still unsure what quantifies reality and how that reality may be relevant to them. The difficulty in stepping aside from groups A, B & C is that the reality of Lourdes is not only multi-dimensional but is multi-influenced and also based upon constructed knowledge. The premise at Lourdes is that Mary appeared. If one is to observe this statement as reality then the group contained in this section would appear to be at an early stage in the construction process

...if I didn't have prior knowledge of Lourdes and build upon it I would not be happy...whereas others just come for the devotional, the worship and to take part in the church stuff, that has never been for me, I need to explore what went on here, and also to be sceptical – yes I often say that to people – you know with science the way it was, in 1928 there was alleged to have been a cure, and there are stories from 1858 onwards, I'll be totally honest in saying that I am a little bit sceptical about those in terms of scientific and medical knowledge at the time, and whether people in the fuller sense were actually cured... ...and I try to say to some of the people that I have taken, look I am not being sarcastic but it's not get up and walk, it's unlikely that physically – well because as you know some of the people have been led to believe or have assumed to believe that there will be some physical improvement in quite severely handicaps (by taking the water), like the kids at Lourdes and so on – I have not heard of that...

The attitudes displayed by Group D perhaps offer a view that events at Lourdes are simply a continuation of a Catholic life that is dominated by ritual, routine and observance (Palmer and Gallagher 2007).

...you know that has not been my experience talking to lots of people (at Lourdes), you can hope for that (healing), and you know I don't treat it lightly but, I want to pass the exam, so of course you could say pray hard, and that is what we were encouraged to do as kids, and as kids we thought great, that is a good deal, and I do not want to be simplistic but I think that is carried over...

This suggestion (above) does however question the provenance of Lourdes as both a site of unique apparitions and as a site that is constantly re-created through post-apparitional miracles, cures and spiritual awakening. This is a complex phenomenon because opinion is divided and divisive among those that visit the Grotto, baths and Basilica throughout the year. Even among those pilgrims that 'fully' accept the 1858 apparitions and the post-apparitional channel to the spiritual there is a distain for the outward expression that is often used to characterise and symbolise Lourdes...now I do not if you noticed Simon, because you've been here before, but rather bizarrely they had hundreds of crutches hanging up in the Grotto, now they have all gone, I always found that a bit strange, and it gave the impression of – oh someone has chucked them away, kind of thing – and I always said well it is not quite that, but why are they up there? You know what was strange was no one knew why they were there, not even on the guided tours...do you know the Grotto and the statue well they are enough on their own and when I saw those (the crutches) I thought oh no I do not like that, but you know now they are gone – good...

The four perspectives offered here attempt to dissect an abstruse question – what does Lourdes, the mystical, unexplainable and often contradictory shrine contribute to the personal construction of meaning when visiting the site. Of course each of the groups discussed above offer both separate and interrelating answers to this question. Perhaps the most viable perspective would be to judge meaning by assessing the tangible (healing, miracle, cure etc...)

and the intangible (the psychosomatic experience – which can be applied to all four groups) aspects of a visit to Lourdes. It is notable in the findings of this thesis that there are those pilgrims that embrace the miracles and cures;

> ...the fact that, that spring was discovered at the direction of Bernadette through the vision, makes it an integral element of the healing, whereas there are plenty of shrines, even in Wales, where a well is said to have healing properties, but – there are not many places where a well has been discovered in the context of a message from God pointing out where the water is...

Equally there is a view among pilgrims that 'mystical, unexplainable' Lourdes can be encapsulated in the psychosomatic potential of visiting the shrine;

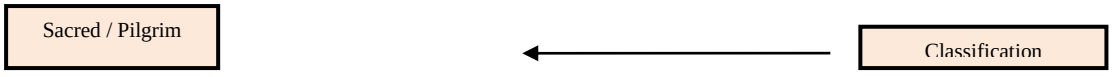
> ...when you go into the waters, for me, it is more the uplift, it's more the mystical appearance of your faith...

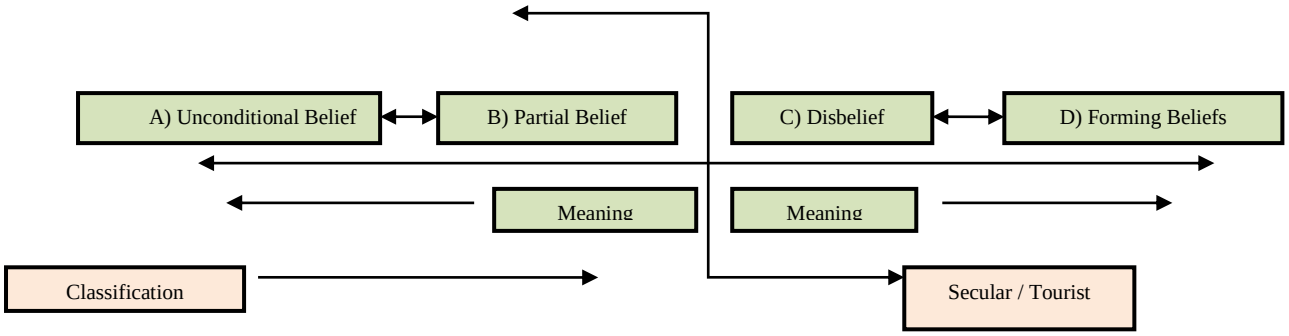
> ...well, psychologically, the friendship, yes of course, kids who might be isolated because of various things, well there is a tremendous boost...

The important factor that one must consider is how the multi-layered perceptions of Lourdes are incorporated into how one sees Lourdes and more specifically how that perception is translated into a personalised, individually constructed meaning that one can apply when visiting the site; and significantly construct both pre and post visit meaning. This thesis has already commented upon the difficulty in reducing Lourdes to cure or no cure in the process of meaning; To reduce Lourdes to miracle or no miracle; cure or no cure; trivialises the almost immeasurable and incalculable potential to make a difference on so many levels to so many individuals (ibid). It may then be posited that the incalculability of the experience transcends the perceived benefits of visiting Lourdes; such as miracle, cure or healing.

This section presents an image of Lourdes that may supersede the early work of Smith (1992), Stoddard (1996) and others by offering an alternative theorisation that differentiates visitors to Lourdes. This new theory encapsulates both the objective (the pre-conceived determined view of Lourdes) and subjective (individual constructed understanding based upon experience, influence, motive, culture, norms etc...) aspects of ones visit to Lourdes and offers a continuum that is less typologically biased towards whether one is a pilgrim or a tourist (Smith 1992). This alternative perspective creates a continuum that minimises the need to label visitors to Lourdes either as pilgrim or tourist - or more pilgrim than tourist / or more tourist than pilgrim. The four group perspectives discussed in this section form the basis of a new understanding and application that creates an alternative approach to the study of pilgrimage by creating a continuum that charts not only what one may classify oneself as (tourist or pilgrim) but additionally what Lourdes means (both spiritually and humanly) to the visitor (see Fig 5.5). Figure 5.5 offers an alternative paradigm where the points of Smith's (1992) continuum (Sacred/Pilgrim – Secular/Tourist) are part of a broader conceptualisation that contribute to understanding how individuals, within a more specific sense, construct their own meaning.

Fig 5.5 Typological Visitors to Lourdes and Constructions of Differentiating Factors that Determine Meaning – A Conceptual Framework





It would be unwise to conclude this section without considering the tourist in this discussion. The tourist may not appear to be relevant in a discussion that concerns mysticism, miracles and cures. This section has already stated that there is an identifiable group (D) that are dominated by the forming stage. If one is to put forward a theory that this group is exclusively, and can only ever be, of a Catholic persuasion then one may also surmise that there is no space for the tourist in this particular discussion. It is however evident that the tourist is drawn to Lourdes by parallel factors that are distinguishable as pilgrim motives – these may include intangible trophies such as knowledge, status and increased understanding, as well as the more accepted tangible goods such as souvenirs, photographs and other curios which remind one of one's experience. The tourist, however one decides to define them, is crucial to the existence of Lourdes on a number of levels. To ignore the influence that Lourdes may exert on this 'segment' of the visiting population may negate the fact that the first visitors to Lourdes would have come out of curiosity...this phenomenon has been the one constant in the one hundred and fifty year history of the apparitions at Lourdes;

> ...I can remember you know (picture) this one family who got totally caught up in this malaise of thousands of people and they kind of saw us, I think we were waiting or something, we had these t shirts on and they could see our badges, oh and that is right some of the transport we bring here is left hand drive and I think they saw the logo and they came over by the van and were chatting with us, and we said we were going down to the cafe and so they sat down and had a chat with us. Now they were surprised, taken aback even curious – and what I can gather was they had heard about this place but didn't really know what they were letting themselves in for. These people came in the afternoon and got caught up in this madcap type thing – I counted numbers you know of the people who were just curious you know – we were in the south of France, we kind of bumped into this place or we came deliberately and there was this touristy element and I think some of the companies (tourist operators) do Lourdes in half a or a full day and then stay a night at one of the hotels, and the hotels would say well if you are curious get a guide to take you around ...oh yes there are lots of tourists in Lourdes...

If one was to ask the question – why do individuals travel to pilgrimage sites – then one would have to consider what individuals are going to experience. If one considers what happened at Lourdes during the apparitions one hundred and fifty years ago then it becomes evident that one cannot separate the miraculous apparitional events from the expectations of the contemporary visitor. The visitor to Lourdes is, in an abstract way, attempting to re-create or re-live the apparitional events (see Turner and Turner 1978). This section has presented a continuum of factors that determine construction of meaning at Lourdes, but it is the more specific adaptation of the apparitions that determines how and what one experiences at Lourdes. Lourdes is not a 'one fit for all' experience; this study has already deconstructed the mystical, curative and healing power of Lourdes by offering a continuum that places

individuals based on levels of belief/engagement. This study is not a motivational study or a typological analysis of visitors to Lourdes. This study offers an insight into how individuals construct personalised, individual and subjective meaning when visiting Lourdes. The mystical, unexplainable, curative power of Lourdes has drawn visitors since the apparitions in 1858 and as this study has already reported - reducing Lourdes to cure or no cure, miracle or no miracle trivialises the almost immeasurable and incalculable potential to make a difference on so many levels to so many individuals.

5.1.4 The testimonies of pilgrims – a confession of truth

Lourdes is complex (Eade & Sallnow 2000). The first three sections of this discussion chapter present an analysis of factors that influence the construction of individual's subjective meaning when visiting a pilgrimage shrine (Lourdes). There is a clear demarcation between those sections which enables an artificial separation of influencing factors during the construction process i.e. conflict, control, shared space, levels of faith etc. The introduction to this chapter presents a view that the findings of this study, or at least the first three sections, are not fully representative of the paradigmatic theoretical shift, put forward by Andriotis (2011), Collins-Kreiner (2010), Poria, Airey and Butler (2003 & 2004) and others, which advocates the move away from the objective (the shrine) and a concentration on the subjective (the visitor) as they are the main component of pilgrimage. This is an important point especially if one is to also discount the traditional Turnerian theoretical view of Lourdes that supports 'complete harmony, community and togetherness' (see Turner and Turner 1978).

The three testimonies in this study offer an alternative recursive series of narratives that are 'played out' in the bars/cafes and restaurants of Lourdes. The findings chapter in this study points out that ...the bars and cafes of Lourdes provide the informal settings for such recounts where stories are exchanged in a process that can be likened to such abstract examples as fairly tales, mythological narratives or Biblical parables. These narratives are most commonly used to make a metaphorical or allegorical point, position or claim... (ibid). The end of the 'structured itinerated' day at Lourdes provides the opportunity for pilgrims, tourists and others to move from the more formalised religious activities to a metaphorical 'religious afterlife' where the streets of Lourdes, the bars/cafes and restaurants, become the central focus. Lourdes at night-time is a bustling, crowded, vibrant mixture of pilgrims, tourists, locals and others that are passing through. The bars/cafes and restaurants are where pilgrims pass on stories that tell of experiences, often personal, that are in most cases based upon either a miraculous event or an experience that reflects the apparitional events at Lourdes. The passing on of stories is a critical factor in the process of how one constructs meaning at Lourdes especially when one considers that a visit to Lourdes is underpinned by unobligated faith, duty, ritual and observance.

The testimonies at Lourdes enable individuals to make sense of Lourdes by creating their own narrative which underpins both belief systems and processes, and understanding of what Lourdes might mean on an individual level. If one is to accept that the testimonies presented in this discussion are an underpinning influence on individuals then one may also be able to

surmise (imagine in this context) a Lourdes that has its foundations in a narrative that was put forward by Bernadette over one hundred and fifty years ago. Of course one would be naive to suggest that the testimonies are all-encompassing; often they are highly individual, subjective and manipulated to suit the needs of the teller. That said it would be fair to say that there appears at Lourdes to be a continuing need to recycle and retell narratives, passing from pilgrim to pilgrim the miraculous evidence that keeps the Lourdes story relevant both on an individualistic level and as a body of believers or Catholic Church (literally) [23].

The first testimony presented in the final section of the findings is typical of the recounts that one experiences at Lourdes – the miraculous recount that is typified by a prayer to Our Lady the Virgin Mary. This type of narrative is in many ways contradictory to the ecclesiastical view that has dominated discussion at Lourdes during the last twenty five years. As the Lourdes Medical Bureau (LMB) adopts a position of caution regarding this type of miraculous healing the visiting population at Lourdes affords a very different view. Of course one might theorise that the LMB are merely responding to external pressures by offering the 'cynical onlookers' an external lens which conveniently avoids emphasising the type of story presented in testimony one, two and three. It is interesting to note that the pilgrim's response to the LMB guidelines, for establishing the reality of miraculous healing at Lourdes, is one of disengagement. The earlier sections of this discussion may support a theory that emphasises power, control and church authority but it would appear from the evidence of the testimonies that the narratives which underpin faith are self constructed and exist independently of church control.

The miracle presented in testimony one is accepted as fact by the storyteller – who incidentally is recounting a story that is personal. The findings chapter suggests that the account presents several notable events; 1) the context would suggest that the pilgrims were observing the procession of wheelchairs within the Basilica grounds – observance of the wheelchair procession at Lourdes is common practice among pilgrims and is often characterised by fervour, excitement and an expectation of the miraculous, 2) the participant recounts the story first-hand, 3) there is no tangible evidence that would suggest the cure is authentic - the participant accepts the facts of the story unconditionally, 4) the participant accepts that this will never be an authenticated miracle/cure (ibid). One may present an argument that the story presented in testimony one offers an unquantifiable account. On one hand this statement has a certain amount of resonance but the fact that this type of testimony is recounted on numerous occasions at Lourdes cannot negate the fact that miraculous narratives are critical to the preservation of Lourdes.

The second testimony in this section recounts an experience which has two distinct elements; 1) hallucinations that include both the Devil and Our Lady, and 2) the subsequent cure following a prolonged period wheelchair bound and unable to walk (ibid). The significant statement in this recount is the reference to both the hallucination and the cure and the 'proof that Lourdes is working'. The use of the word proof is an important point in this study. If one is to accept this account as proof then it may also be appropriate to accept that it is Lourdes that provides the opportunity for such miraculous events. The tangible link in this recount is the reference to the re-entry to Lourdes by Mary. The return of Mary is evident in the narrative

...and I also saw the face of Our Lady...and gradually the face of the Devil faded and the face of Our Lady shone through him... The important point in this statement refers to Our Lady shining through, a direct comparison to the words used by Bernadette one hundred and fifty years earlier during the apparitional period (Taylor 2003).

Interestingly the central figure in this recount (Pedr Clarke) is referred to as a helper but not a believer. The recount offers a perspective shift in comparison to the first testimony which is clearly based upon the search for healing - i.e. a direct prayer to the Virgin Mary to intervene in a medical matter - this is echoed in the reflection of the storyteller ...Of all the miraculous cures and miracles that I have heard or read about I have never heard anything compared to Pedr Clarke... The story of Pedr Clarke has resonance with the expectations that Lourdes is often burdened with. Lourdes has consistently, since the early apparitions, had to provide evidence to the visiting pilgrim of a) relevance, and b) recurring proof. This study has already commented upon the narratives which underpin the formal structures at Lourdes but it may indeed be the narratives, such as the healing of Pedr Clarke, which also form the basis of relevance and recurring proof. As this study has already stated...'these narratives are most commonly used to make a metaphorical or allegorical point, position or claim'... The story of Pedr Clarke is an important example of how informal stories have been used to stimulate a counter culture which rejects control, authority and conflict and embraces the individualistic belief systems. The narrative counter culture may be the major contributory factor that re-stimulates visits to Lourdes and the continuing engagement with a site that has otherwise limited theological or philosophical relevance. Stories of this kind are not uncommon at Lourdes. This recount has many forms in the bars and cafes at Lourdes and is most often passed from generation to generation as a sort of metaphorical holistic inheritance. For the storyteller the story of Pedr Clarke is a pivotal point in his relationship with Lourdes – the events of testimony two occurred two years after the re-conversion of the storyteller in 1987 and still are used as a means of justifying why Lourdes is both relevant and important. One cannot exclude the high level of personal engagement with such stories at Lourdes in forming individual subjective construction. The storyteller reinforces this point by claiming that Our Lady will never let you go, a personal reference to his engagement and experience of Mary at Lourdes.

Testimony three presents an allegorical narrative that parallels the relationship that was formed between Bernadette and Mary during the apparitional period. The story recounted in testimony three is a personal experience retold by the storyteller. Individuals visiting Lourdes 'take part' on a number of levels which most often depend upon the networks which one may have access to. This phenomenon removes some of the freedom which has been expressed in this testimony section and in fact may be the one factor which links the counter culture of storytelling to the more concentrated forms of control and power relationships discussed earlier in this chapter. The story of Kevin (storyteller) presents a comparative allegorical picture that is clearly aimed at replicating the experience of Bernadette. The important points to note in the storyteller's testimony are the physical references that replicate the actions and images that one would associate with Mary's appearance to Bernadette during the apparitional months. This testimony has significance on a number of levels both perceptually and in a real sense. Firstly the storyteller offers a view that he was sought out among the

crowd of people ...and she turned around to her minders and they pointed over somewhere to go, and I remember her distinctly saying and pointing to the seat beside me... this may be construed as irrelevant but for the storyteller this is confirmation that he was sought out, just as Bernadette had been. Secondly the storyteller draws parallels with the Duchesses appearance and focuses on the 'purity' that exudes from her ...so this lady all dressed in white, no earrings, no make up on, just plain... Thirdly there is reference to a ...trembling fear... that was felt by the storyteller when approached by the Duchess. The reference to ...trembling fear... replicates Bernadette's first encounter [24] with Our Lady the Virgin Mary at the Grotto... 'As Bernadette removed her socks to cross a small stream she heard a rush of wind and turned to the grotto to see a bright shining light. At the centre of the light Bernadette gradually could see a woman dressed in white with a blue sash. Bernadette reached into her pocket to get her rosary but her **body froze with fear**. Almost immediately the smiling Lady made the sign of the cross with her rosary; this act enabling Bernadette to do the same' (Odell 2010; Taylor 2010).

The three phases presented here offer a tangible parallel re-creation of Bernadette and the Virgin Mary represented in one person. This statement stimulates several discussion points but most notably offers a personalised experience of taking part in an intercessionary event where, purely from a construction perspective, the storyteller is a central character in the process; the storyteller almost becomes a third person in the story of Lourdes – one may draw parallels with the Trinity here [God, Christ and the Holy Spirit] but on a practical and ethical level this was never discussed with the storyteller. The storyteller has 'traced' the story of Lourdes onto his experience and assumed that the events portrayed in the findings are only relevant on a personal level. This is a controversial point as this chapter has constantly reinforced the use of narratives as a means of strengthening personal reflections that underpin a **community** of devotees striving to better understand the meaning of the apparitions at Lourdes on their personal circumstances and belief systems (see Horsfall 2000). To move away from the community benefits of such narratives at this point may appear foolish but perhaps it is the nature and character of the events that are used as narrative evidence for the wider Diocesan community that provide authentication for Lourdes as a shrine that has miraculous power (not exclusively linked to healing or miracles).

The storyteller, in this testimony, perceives the Duchess as one who is characterised by 'purity' – a figurehead upon which emotions, concerns and insecurities could be placed. The nature of the relationship between the Duchess and the storyteller is characterised by reoccurring events which contribute to a relationship that has longevity, closeness and reverence. This third testimony is unlike the majority of stories that are 'traded' in the bars and cafes of Lourdes...the most common stories at Lourdes include events focused upon healing or other miraculous occurrences. What this testimony reveals is a lifetime engagement with Lourdes that culminates in a twelve week stay following the death of the storyteller's wife. The completeness of experiencing the time with the Duchess is paramount to the central theme of this testimony – the parallel construction of the Lourdes story with the testimony experience. If one examines the phrases that are used by the storyteller one can draw direct parallels with the story of Bernadette;

...she had me crying my heart out...

...and all that week she gave me the greatest of comfort...

...she never left me that week...

...two years later she still remembered me...

...I got a seat at the front of the alter so I could get a good view of her...

There is obvious difficulty in quantifying any of the events within this testimony both on a tangible or metaphorical level. What can be determined from this account however is a second level of narrative which has moved away from the more common forms of healing narrative and has offered a picture of Lourdes that underlines how the Virgin Mary interacts with believers on different levels. The storyteller presents a picture that requires a filtering process to reveal the patterns of meaning that contribute to how one separates reality from perception. What is important to note in this account is the role of Bernadette and Mary, both intercessionary channels, being transferred, perceptually, to the Duchess. For the storyteller the Duchess becomes the embodiment of Mary/Bernadette; a portal through which one can become closer to, and part of, the story of Lourdes (Turner and Turner 1978).

This section presents a series of narratives that are centred on unobligated faith. The one common factor in all three testimonies is absolute acceptance that the stories are based upon a) fact (testimonies 1 & 2) and b) are personalised (testimonies 1, 2 & 3);

Testimony 1...Now I know this will never be classed as a miracle, probably no one will ever know about it, but that mother knows it was a miracle, and that's good enough for me...that's good enough for me...

Testimony 2...I think Our Lady shows you (accidentally) proof that Lourdes is working...

Testimony 3...and for some reason no one sat next to me... and I remember her distinctly saying and pointing to the seat beside me... well she turned around and said get closer to me

This thesis has stated on more than one occasion that the testimonies offer an alternative view of life at Lourdes that preclude the earlier debates concerning church authority, conflict and power relationships which dominate the earlier sections of this chapter. The stories recounted in these testimonies present an opportunity, for pilgrims, to engage with the story of Lourdes on a level that can be personalised to meet specific needs, expectations and constructions. It is the testimonies which transcend both the traditional and contemporary theory – they offer the pilgrim a 'real' Lourdes where construction is not jealously guarded by those who have power or influence but is part of an individualistic apparatus where it is the individual who has control. This proposition is an important factor as one attempts to achieve the critical points that may influence the construction of individual subjective meaning when visiting a pilgrimage shrine.

5.2 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has considered the theoretical literature and the four themes that emerged from the research findings; 1) the authority of the church and pilgrimage conflict, 2) the contestation of dual space, 3) the pull factors – experiencing Marian mysticism, cures and miracles – the meaning of pilgrimage, and 4) the testimonies of pilgrims – a confession of

truth. While one may posit that the act of pilgrimage has undergone a paradigmatic shift, from the objective to the subjective, there is evidence in this discussion, based on tourists and pilgrims accounts, which supports an alternative interpretation of the theoretical position. The literature review, in this study, presents a coherent and structured development which proposes a timeline of activity which, while not exclusively linear, does describe a theoretical development process which suggests a traditional perspective of pilgrimage as dominated by the objective or external. This view is stimulated by a concentration of traditional texts which focus upon the site/shrine as the important/critical element; texts that fail to consider the subjective or internal mechanism of pilgrimage (see Dora 2012; Andriotis 2011; Collins-Kreiner 2010; Poria, Airey and Butler 2003). The contemporary study of pilgrimage and tourism documents a shift from the objective to a new position which advocates the inner self, inner spirituality and the subjective meaning of pilgrimage. The findings in this study offer a more complex reality where objectivity and subjectivity are not liner concepts, driven by external factors or de-differentiated. The construction process at Lourdes is multi-dimensional, multi-layered and influenced by an institutional control that is as (partially) transparent as it is hidden, especially when one considers the acceptance among pilgrims/tourists of the control mechanisms at Lourdes.

The four themes, that this chapter is structured around, present a counter-positional series of actions that preclude the theoretical insistence of individual freedom, personal goals and subjective inner meaning. While it may be appropriate to accept that pilgrim-tourist differentiation has narrowed it would also be acceptable to present the premise that the 'make-up/mix' of groups/individuals visiting pilgrimage sites is the greatest determinant in the construction process of meaning. It is group construction, and leadership of the group, that remains the dominant force in the construction and meaning that individuals will experience when visiting pilgrimage shrines/sites or religious tourism attractions.

Lourdes is however a complex phenomenon; the combination of sacred shrine and major tourist attraction does not always sit easily – even when one considers that this has been the case for over one hundred and fifty years. As Taylor (2003) so eloquently observed in the early development at Lourdes *"there was a decisive break, the boulevard of the Grotto marked a turning point in urban history (of Lourdes)...the period of discounts and tawdry trinkets had arrived...the people of Lourdes would live henceforward according to the rhythm of Massabielle"* (: 164). Lourdes is remarkable because it acts as so many things to so many people. The evidence of these studies findings presents a snapshot of Lourdes which transcends the ritualistic observances with which one might define the daily routines that are reported throughout this thesis. In reality Lourdes is a place that has, for over a hundred and fifty years, acted as a portal for those seeking answers to their own spirituality, for those seeking miraculous healing and for those seeking alternative spiritual experiences to their everyday existence 'back home' (see Urry 1990 & 2011). It is perhaps Marnham (1980) who most appropriately encapsulates Lourdes*..."and now, of course, it no longer matters how it came about, because Lourdes is a phenomenon perpetuated by its own momentum...to go there is to share in the stimulation and refreshment of a common act of faith and fellowship...Lourdes has become a justification in itself"* (: vii).

Notes

1. As MacCannell (1990) points out - by definition, articulations among fixed positions cannot be free...these articulations are no less determined by the original grid (of tourist attractions - pilgrimage sites - attitudes and so on) than any given point on that grid...there is a finite number of combinations of fixed points...that point may be very high, but the size of the number does not negate the fact that it is determined...Apparent freedom of articulation within this second order determinism, makes it nicely adapted for ideologues who would advance totalitarian control under the guise of pseudo-freedom. For further reading on Pseudo-freedom see Boorstin, D. J. (1961) *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* Vintage Books.
2. The eight ecclesiastically (Catholic Church in Rome) authenticated Marian pilgrimage shrines in Western Europe are; La Salette, Pontmain and Lourdes in France; Banneux and Beauraing in Belgium; Knock in Ireland; Fatima in Portugal; and Walsingham in England.
3. During Lourdes' first one hundred and fifty years, the International Medical Bureau of Lourdes recorded seven thousand authenticated cures – although only sixty-seven of the seven thousand cures were recognised by the church as 'miracles'...(adapted from Odell 2010).
4. According to Laurentin (undated) the recursive reasons for apparitions include and are intended to; a) manifest the hidden presence of God b) renew community life c) convert hearts d) reawaken and stimulate faith , and e) to renew hope and dynamism in the church.
5. **Liminality** – meaning threshholdness, or the sense of crossing a threshold or portal from one mode of existence to another in which you live by different rules; derived from the Latin 'limen' meaning threshold the term liminal aptly describes the condition of ritual participants who have symbolically exited one social space or state but have not entered a new one; they are figuratively poised over the threshold, or betwixt and between, two social worlds.
6. **Communitas** – a relational quality of full unmediated communication, even communion with other individuals, which combines the qualities of lowliness, sacredness, homogeneity, and comradeship.
7. The Run for the Wall is an annual cross-America pilgrimage of veterans of the American war in Vietnam. The 'Run' is a remembrance pilgrimage, which takes place on motorcycles, starting in California and ending at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington DC.
8. Dubisch (2004) points out that some veterans were keen to confide their stories – whereas in other situations the dividing line between pilgrims (often as a result of opposing expectations) was experienced.
9. Eade and Sallnow (2000) offer an opposing view of conflict between pilgrims and helpers inside the Lourdes bathing areas where there is an emphasis shift to the opportunities for pilgrims to express individual wishes and to pursue their own strategies. *"The power of pilgrims to resist the authority of lay helpers and other shrine organisers must not be over-emphasised. Even inside the men's baths, where flexibility and sensitivity to pilgrims' needs are most evident, the pilgrims' abilities to shape bathing procedures to their own designs have depended largely upon changes initiated by Hospitallers themselves...Helpers are prepared to criticise the insensitivity and officiousness of their colleagues...the Hospitality itself is not a neat, integrated, hierarchal structure which dominates the pilgrims absolutely..."* (:74).
10. This perhaps is a better reflection of the tourist; see Swarbrooke, J. (1999) *Consumer Behaviour in Tourism* Butterworth Heinemann.
11. As one witness to the apparitions at the Grotto explained...As soon as she arrived, Bernadette knelt and made the sign of the cross. After two decades of the rosary, her eyes turned toward the niche, an expression of joy came over her face, a transformation...I was impressed as much as if I had seen the Blessed Virgin... (Antoinette Tardhivail, a witness of the apparitions) (adapted from Taylor 2003).
12. The Lady of Medjugorje appeared to four girls and two boys in 1981 with the proclamation 'I am the Virgin Mary. I am the Queen of Peace'. The message revealed at Medjugorje is concerned with immediate conversion in order to avoid the punishment of God. This offers an alternative perspective to the message of the apparitions at Lourdes. According to Matter (2001) the 'official' chronology of the visions of Medjugorje cites similar messages from Mary from June 1981 to June 1983. The message of conversion is, according to Matter (2001), fitting considering the political situation in Yugoslavia at the time (1980s). The oppressive political conditions are counterbalanced by Mary's call to conversion; an alternative position to the hostile environment in which the visionaries would have grown up. The call of Mary at Medjugorje exhorts immediate conversion; tell all my sons and daughters, tell the entire world as soon as possible that I desire their conversion. The only word I tell the world is, convert and do not delay. I will ask my Son not to punish the world but that the world be saved. You do not, and cannot, know what God will send the world. Convert, renounce everything, be ready for everything, because this is all part of the conversion. Tell the world not to wait, it needs to

convert When God comes He will not be joking: I tell you that you must take my messages seriously (adapted from Batty 1984).

13. *"...traditional religious institutions are everywhere accommodating the movements of tourists. In the 'Holy-Land', the tour has followed in the path of the religious pilgrimage and is replacing it. Throughout the world, churches, cathedrals, mosques, and temples are being converted from religious to touristic functions"* (MacCannell 1976: 43).
14. As McKercher (1993) points out *"it is a mistake to assume that most tourists are anything more than consumers, whose primary goal is the consumption of a tourism experience".*
15. Leisured intercession reflects Veblen's thesis that leisure is a reflection of social structure. See Thorstein Veblen (1963) *The Theory of the Leisure Class* New York American Library
16. Cohen (1972) was the first to develop a conceptual framework which proposed a typology of tourists based upon sociological theory. Unlike previous attempts to classify tourists Cohen (1972) claimed that tourists are not a homogenous group but are points on a continuum that at the far extreme (the organised mass tourist) seek out the familiar and the normal and are unwilling to try anything that is perceived as new. The opposite end of Cohen's (1972) classification (the drifter) may be more akin to the characterising attributes one may associate with the pilgrim – an ability to immerse in local culture and customs. Interestingly Cohen's (1972) classification is similar to Boorstin's (1961) view of the tourist inasmuch as the tourist's behaviour is structurally determined by the home and host environment. Cohen (1972) does however differ from the Boorstin (1961) theory because he suggests that different tourists are more or less able to adapt to and experience the unfamiliar: Adapted from Sharpley, R. (1999) Tourism, Tourists and Society ELM.
17. Semiotics – The study of signs. A method for the analysis of messages, both verbal and non-verbal. Explores the wider societal meanings of, and functions of, sign systems; See Culler, J. (1981) *Semiotics of Tourism* American Journal of Semiotics 1 (1-2): 127-140.
18. It is interesting to note that Lourdes is compared, by a British tourist, with Blackpool. This association focuses upon the touristic markers with which one may associate Lourdes; such as the souvenir shops which line the main shopping area (plate 5.1) and sell a range of trinkets including snow shakers which reveal a winking Virgin Mary appearing at Lourdes; key-rings which are in the shape of the Virgin Mary; and T Shirts which proclaim ones visit to Lourdes. This of course supports the view that it is place association that is the primary influence for the tourist; the tourists interviewed in this study paid little attention to the sacred space that one encounters at the Grotto/Baths within the Basilica compound at Lourdes.
19. To paraphrase Marnham (1980) *"...at first sight one seems to be moving down an arcade of garish shops...then one realises that these shops are not selling little dolls in national costume, or scarves painted with the regional arms, or cheap jewellery; they are selling 'objects of piety'. The strings of beads turn into rosaries, thousands of rosaries of every size, colour and price. The mannequins turn into virgins; baby virgins, haggard virgins, flashing virgins. There are virgins in a snow storm, virgins in a television set, little cutie-doll bug-eyed half-witted virgins praying on velveteen mats; virgins in make-up, virgins in modern dress and the world renowned hollow, plastic virgins whose crowns unscrew to turn into bottle stoppers. There are virgins in Grottos, and there are virgins in Grottos mounted on varnished Dutch clogs, an international two-horrors-in-one"* (: 43). Marnham (1980) compares the route through the souvenir shops at Lourdes with walking through Ali Baba's tunnel of twinkling rubbish (also Williamson, H. R. (1958) The Challenge of Bernadette Burns and Oates Publications).
20. Timothy, D. J. & Boyd, S. W. (2003) consider the parallel sharing of space as a dominant factor in the tourism industry – particularly in the case of heritage tourism where multiple groups may be sharing heritages which can be viewed from a number of alternative positions. As Timothy and Boyd (2003) point out *"because many groups are heterogeneous, divergent views are to be expected"* (: 267). See Timothy, D. J. & Boyd, S. W. (2003) *Heritage Tourism* Prentice Hall
21. Push/Pull factors are a standard measurement of motivational/determinant theory in the study of tourism. See Swarbrooke, J. (1999) *Consumer Behaviour in Tourism* Butterworth Heinemann.
22. During the early apparitions at Lourdes the family of Bernadette were concerned that the events may have been an illusion or caused by evil spirits (a commonly held view among Pyrenean communities was that evil spirits inhabited the Grotto)... As Taylor (2003) Odell (2010) comment 'As they arrived home Toinette told her mother of Bernadette's vision. Louise Soubirous warned Bernadette not to spread such tales and spanked both girls as a warning not to bring embarrassment upon the family name. Louise told Bernadette not to return to the Grotto and that what had happened to her was a dream, an illusion. Louise Soubirous was enraged when she heard what had happened at the Grotto. The following day after school Bernadette was slapped in the face after being

questioned by Sister Anastaise and Sister Sophie, two women most of the children did their best to avoid. The Sister's advised Bernadette not to visit the Grotto again or she would be locked up'.

23. The dissemination of stories at Lourdes is generally circulated among small groups of Diocesan pilgrims. There is however evidence (Matter 2001) that certain stories become part of a wider network of narratives that are embraced by a more generalised audience and accepted as part of the Lourdes story (i.e. stories which are informally authenticated most commonly because they have stood the test of time).

24. The first apparition at Lourdes took place on Thursday February 11th 1858. Accompanied by her sister Toinette and her cousin Jeanne Abadie, Bernadette proceeded to the rocky outcrop of Massabielle on the banks of the River Gave, to collect drift firewood. As Bernadette removed her socks to cross a small stream she heard a rush of wind and turned to the grotto to see a bright shining light. At the centre of the light Bernadette gradually could see a woman dressed in white with a blue sash. Bernadette reached into her pocket to get her rosary but her body froze with fear. Almost immediately the smiling Lady made the sign of the cross with her rosary; this act enabling Bernadette to do the same. The Lady motioned for Bernadette to draw closer to her but a mixture of fear and timidity stopped her. The vision suddenly disappeared. During her journey home Bernadette asked her sister and cousin if they had seen anything but they had not. Bernadette then told her companions about the vision but they scoffed at her. As they arrived home Toinette told her mother of Bernadette's vision. Louise Soubirous warned Bernadette not to spread such tales and spanked both girls as a warning not to bring embarrassment upon the family name. Louise told Bernadette not to return to the Grotto and that what had happened to her was a dream, an illusion. Consequently Bernadette decided to obey her mother's wishes but would struggle with the immense sense of pull of the mysterious vision at the Grotto.

Chapter 6 – Analysis and Interpretation

Lourdes, 43km south-east of Pau, was just a sleepy market town on the edge of the snow-capped Pyrenees until 1858, when Bernadette Soubirous, (1844-79), a near illiterate, 14-year-old peasant girl, saw the Virgin Mary in a series of 18 visions that took place in a grotto near the town. The girl's account was eventually investigated by the Vatican, which confirmed them as bona fide apparitions.

(Lonely Planet 2001)

Thus, the urge to identify certain places and things as especially significant, indeed sacred, seems a deeply rooted human need, as is the desire to go as pilgrims to such places. Catholic Europe has retained this understanding.

(Nolan and Nolan 1989)

6.0 Introduction

The research question

The discussion chapter in this study set out a clear aim; to critically examine the theoretical literature/debates and findings of this thesis to achieve the research question and objectives of the study. This chapter presents an opportunity to consider the interpretation of those theoretical debates (literature review & discussion) and findings (findings & discussion) in this study in relation to the overall research question and research objectives. It is an appropriate point to remind ourselves of the research question and objectives of this study at the outset of this chapter.

The research question is;

- What factors influence the construction of individuals' subjective meaning when visiting pilgrimage shrines?

The objectives of the study are;

- To examine the relationship between pilgrim, tourist and marker at Lourdes;
- To determine the markers role in framing individual space at Lourdes;
- To evaluate the interrelating factors that contribute to the personal construction of meaning at Lourdes.
- To consider how one may apply the outcomes of this study to the practice of visiting Lourdes.

Chapter structure

The first section of this chapter (6.1) will be structured around the four themes that emerged from the findings of this study; 1) the authority of the church and pilgrimage conflict, 2) the contestation of dual space, 3) the pull factors – experiencing Marian mysticism, cures and miracles – the meaning of pilgrimage, and 4) the testimonies of pilgrims – a confession of truth. The chapter will consider how these four themes correspond to the three phases of theoretical literature critiqued in chapter 2 of this study; this will be achieved through a process of applying the outcomes of the discussion chapter in this study to a fuller discussion

concerning the specific factors that influence the construction of individual subjective meaning when visiting Lourdes (response to the research question – 6.2). The chapter will thus be structured as follows;

- Theoretical literature - Research findings – Towards a new framework (6.1)
- Response to the research question and aims (6.2)

Chapter contextualisation

Collins-Kreiner (2010) advocates the view that in the study of pilgrimage and tourism *"the transition from modern to post-modern theory is still understood as an expansion, and not a contradiction of existing theory...the transformation is not as sharp and dramatic as some researchers would like to think"* (: 14). Collins-Kreiner's (2010) view is an important starting point in this analysis and interpretation chapter as it sets a clear tone for the development and application of pilgrimage and tourism theory and practice. Of course one could, at this point, also refer to the development of specific pilgrim-touristic study by (re)-introducing the claims of neglect already considered in this study; claims which contribute to current conceptualisations and theorisations – for example;

"what surrounds the shrines and how it affects both the shrine's status and visitor's experience has usually gone largely understudied, if not ignored" (Dora 2012: 952)

"tourism literature focuses most of its attention on tourism's affect on the local population and extremely little on its effect on the visitors themselves." Only recently *"have researchers started to examine the effect of visits on the visitors in a more specific manner"* (Collins-Kreiner 2010: 9)

The views put forward by both Dora (2012) and Collins-Kreiner (2010) are reflective of a more general theoretical apathy which, as this study has already discussed, has been addressed to some, limited, extent in the contemporary literature. Equally this does not however render the traditional approaches to pilgrim-touristic study as useless or inactive. The reality is quite the opposite. The theoretical literature development in this study presents an opportunity to assess the findings using the full scope of previous academic theorisations and conceptualisations. The timeline of theoretical development in the study of pilgrimage and tourism, according to current literature, (Dora 2012; Andriotis; 2011; Collins-Kreiner 2010; Badone and Roseman 2004) presents a view that is centred upon the transition from the objective to the subjective. This chapter will commence by considering this theoretical transition, in the context of the primary findings, through a process of examination of the pilgrim-tourist experience.

6.1 Theoretical Literature – Research Findings - Towards a New Framework

6.1.1 The pilgrim takes charge – The authority of the church and pilgrimage conflict – From Turner to Smith to complete subjectivity

The title to this section - *'The pilgrim takes charge'* – might suggest that there are two significant points upon which to commence this section; 1) a period when the pilgrim did not have control of the pilgrimage experience, and 2) a transitional process which resulted in the pilgrim taking/gaining control; which also suggests that control was, in point one, held elsewhere. This rather basic notion is nevertheless a central component of this study; indeed both the literature review and the findings section partially evidence/support such a notion. The literature review in this study presents a clearly delineated development of the practice of visiting pilgrimage sites, especially when one places emphasis upon contemporary notions of freewill, post-modernism and the influence of more generalised touristic factors such as expectations, motivators and determinants.

Tracing the notion of transitional control may have several implications however, especially when one considers the traditional, bridging and contemporary theoretical assumptions that fully support such a theory but which fail to be fully reflected in the practice of pilgrimage (findings). For example, if one considers the traditional theoretical approaches to the act of pilgrimage then it is evident that one cannot separate tourism or the activity of touristic behaviour from the religious/spiritual activity which dominates how one might define such (religious) activity. Even the work of Keil (2003), which actively promotes religious activity as the dominant feature/force of both medieval and contemporary pilgrimage, recognises the lateral touristic activity that route based pilgrimage stimulates. Interestingly, in this study, it is the pilgrim and tourist participants that artificially separate themselves by denoting certain codes of identification and how those codes relate to a) control/conflict, and b) levels of object/subject (-ivity). Perhaps like other academic disciplines, pilgrimage remains vague because of the disparity in definitions. For some, pilgrimage can only be a religious activity; which denotes notions of internal understanding and transformational 'individual' change. For others pilgrimage has come to mean whatever one constructs as appropriate. This latter post-modernistic approach has resulted in pilgrimage, as a concept, being used as a 'catch-all' term to denote such varied activities as roadside memorials, to victims of car crashes, to celebrity locations (most usually associated with memorialising death or some other momentous event) to referring to secular locations as pilgrimage sites (such as football stadiums, famous landmarks or sites that have 'created' significance such as journeys/places with heritage or touristic value) (Blackwell 2007; Nolan and Nolan 1989).

The Turnerian (1978) approach to pilgrimage perhaps offers a credible, if not paradoxical, alternative to the notion of change or control. The Turners (1978) present a model of pilgrimage which promotes equality, equal chance and equal treatment. The notion of Turners (1978) communitas claims 'a relational quality of full unmediated communication, even communion with other individuals, which combines the qualities of lowliness, sacredness, homogeneity, and comradeship'. Communitas thus offers an alternative, transient and longitudinal state in which one escapes order, control, and the strictures of everyday existence; which according to Hebdige (1979) are all common factors of life. The adaptation

of van Gennep's (1960) theoretical 'liminal separation' would be difficult to disprove if one was to consider the pilgrim-touristic population at Lourdes. If one was to pose the question 'does pilgrimage stimulate a liminal state?' then one would have to answer yes... Pilgrimage by definition denotes movement – both physically and psychologically – and community – it is not often that pilgrimage will take place in an isolated state, socially or other [1]. The Turner (1978) model does not support the notion of control, order or conflict; for example the Turners (1978) claimed that...*"in Lourdes there is a sense of living communitas, whether in the great signing processions by torchlight or in the agreeable little cafes of the back streets, where tourists and pilgrims gaily sip their wine and coffee. Something of Bernadette has tinctured the entire social milieu – a cheerful simplicity, a great depth of communion"* (: 230).

The theoretical position of communitas is perhaps most comprehensively opposed by the work of Eade (1991 & 1992). The findings of this study perhaps most closely reflect that work (of Eade 1991 & 1992) especially if one considers the role of the marker in processing the gaze of the pilgrim/tourist; as pre-determined, selective and externally constructed. Lourdes is a site that has become burdened with certain ecclesiastical expectations; mostly associated with a) what has taken place - the apparitions, and b) what, potentially, could happen during a visit - healing, miraculous cure etc. On this basis one could easily accept Laurentin's (undated) presupposition that it is the church authorities that control both the expectations and process of formal 'religious' pilgrimage sites – from identification through to authenticated shrine - especially if one applies the findings of this study;

...It is a prescriptive church with certain rituals...

...the whole of the Catholic church is very very authoritarian...

...now they control...

Pilgrim's comments (2010)

It would appear that the Turner's (1978) may have misjudged the evidence from Lourdes at least. Taylor (2003) most notably, refers to the tensions at Lourdes during the years immediately following the apparitions in 1858...*"there seems to have been a general awareness that the Grotto was no longer part of the commune of Lourdes...steps were then taken which increased this sense of separation and dismayed many of the local people"* (: 162). Indeed much of the history of Lourdes is dominated by tension, conflict and competing discourses; mostly between locals, pilgrims, tourists, church authorities and those with a commercial interest in the shrine. Such factors led, according to Taylor (2003), to a spirit of resentment in Lourdes. The early development at Lourdes was driven and parametered by the church authorities. The creation of the shrine at Lourdes was one of the most ambitious Catholic creations of the nineteenth century and in a mere ten years, between 1858 and 1868, Lourdes, or more specifically the Grotto, had become a site of international pilgrimage and healing. It was perhaps the rapidity of growth at Lourdes which fuelled the early tensions but it may be difficult, in a complete or real sense, to attribute those tensions, or even elements of those tensions, to current misconceptions, conflicts, contradictions or complexities. The

reality of Lourdes is that power, both perceived and actual, is the dominant factor in the application of control. Control is dependant upon counter-positions; at Lourdes the opposing hierarchical structures dominate both the pilgrim and tourist activity. One could argue that it would be impossible to visit a site such as Lourdes without some levels of influence, bias or expectation. Doctrinal references are perhaps the most visible 'ecclesiastical' markers that one would associate with Lourdes; for example the story of Lourdes is pre-set – there may be flexibility within the ecclesiastical expectations but it is limited and certainly control would be applied at 'leadership' level (group leader – usually priest or Bishop). To return to Eade (1991 & 1992), the point of managing control, on a personal level, is how one circumnavigates control and what one expects from that circumnavigation. The tourists in this study knew what to expect from their visit (pre-markers) and, to a certain extent, were able to escape or circumnavigate the touristic determinism so clearly supported by Urry (1990 & 2011) and Eade and Sallnow (1991);

...this is commercial crap...YES...commercial crap is what it is...

...the shops sell the same old tat...

...Why can't you do this at home? Who says you have to come here...

...If you truly believe in it and you have faith...well God is supposed to be everywhere so...this is not sacred, there is more spiritual peace to be found in your own church. Why would you come here?...

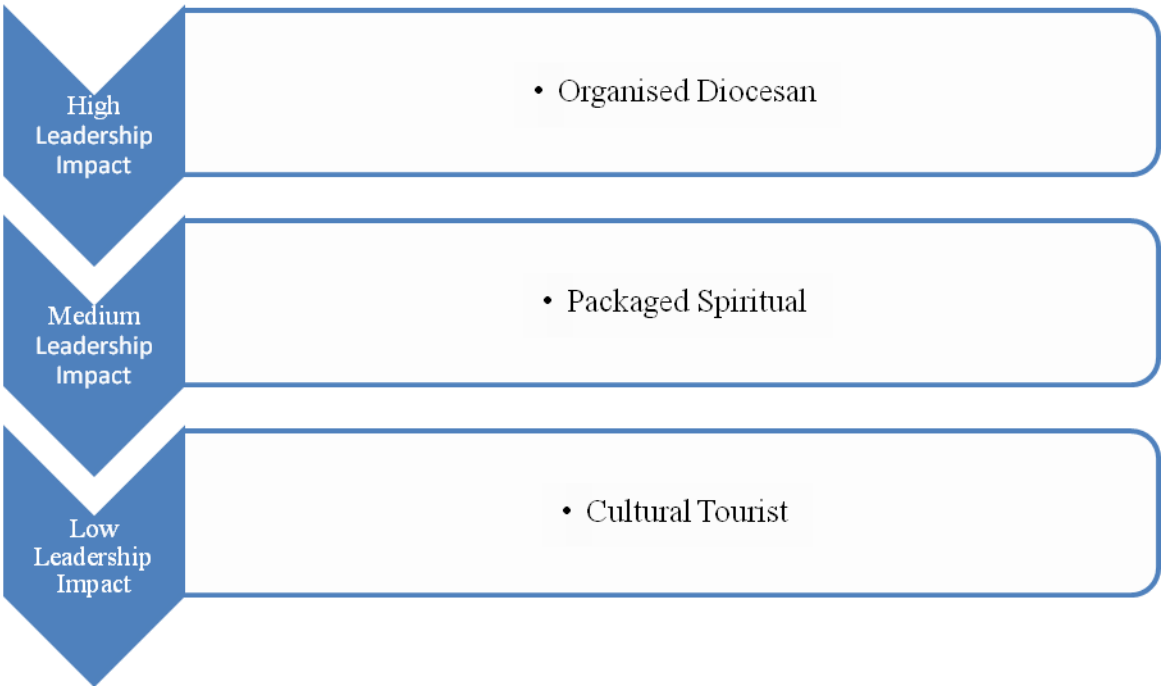
Tourist's comments (2010)

Circumnavigation is perhaps less conceivable for the structured itinerary driven groups that visit Lourdes. Of course conflict is not an uncommon phenomenon at pilgrimage sites (secular and religious) but there is certainly evidence in this study that supports the notion of increased tension/conflict where religious activities/rituals are being observed. Smith (1992), Stoddard (1996) and others, conveniently separate the pilgrim and tourist by offering counter-motivational positions that easily distinguish between 'world view' or 'individual belief'. Smith's (1992) framework is perhaps most useful in separating how control may be dependant upon relative factors underpinned by involvement, dedication and expectation. The struggle between collective order and individual expression has been documented throughout this study. This study has also reported, both in the theoretical discussion and the findings/discussion, the role of the helpers at Lourdes in framing the visitor's experience. Brancardiers, for example, encourage pilgrims attending the Grotto/baths to behave in a certain way deemed as appropriate. Control can therefore be identified both at leadership level (Priest/Bishop or nominated group leader) and operational level (Brancardier/helper/steward). The expectation that the removal in a Turnerian (1978) sense - geographically and socially - from the strictures of everyday life is accompanied by diversity and freedom of expression is counter-positional to the findings in this study.

The contemporary literature in the study of pilgrim-touristic theory supports a broadening of expectation dominated by socio-spiritual search and individual application/subjectivity. The communitas of the Turners (1978) has perhaps given way to a counter-social space where individuals can engage with and experience the elements of spirituality that they deem most

appropriate to their needs. This notion certainly fits with current research and theories (Dora 2012; Andriotis 2011; Collins-Kreiner 2010). Theoretically the transformation in pilgrimage may be viable but there are a number of concerns with the new paradigm – especially when one considers Lourdes. Officialdom at Lourdes is perhaps the greatest influence upon the visitor's experience. If one returns several paragraphs in this section there is a suggestion that what, potentially, could happen during a visit (healing, miraculous cure etc...), is a central burden of the visit to Lourdes. The fact that a large proportion of 'religious' visitors come to Lourdes with expectations of healing and miraculous cure may be an indication of the 'ecclesiastical' need for an intercessory intervention or intermediary agent. The Catholic theological tradition would support such a notion – usually a member of the clergy (Priest) would act as the intermediary, thus relinquishing control to an individual (Priest) who would be fully able to reveal the ritualistic benefits of healing, the Blessed Sacrament or to act as a channel to a smoother, unrestricted access to Bernadette, Mary, the Saints, Jesus, God...etc... What this study reveals is a leadership influence that is dependant upon the construction of the group. While one could not claim equity among group construction, figure 6.1 does provide an alternative framework which places the group leader as a central figure in the process of control, management and influence.

Fig 6.1 Pilgrimage Group Construction and Leadership Impact – A Conceptual Framework



The management and control of pilgrims is dominated by two factors; 1) theological right, and 2) itinerary and participation. While theological right might be the doctrinal basis upon which control is based it is the itineraries and expectations of participation that are the manifestation of control. Itineraries reflect a communal obligation that stimulates a uniform expression of togetherness. Breaking out from the structure of the itinerary is not evident in this studies findings; the large number of pilgrims who choose to return with their Diocesan

group is a reflection of the acceptance of the structured, formulaic itineraries one experiences at Lourdes.

> ...there is not a lot of time to do things here, not with all the work we have to do...
>
> Pilgrim's comments (2010)

Participation in the itinerary is, for pilgrims visiting Lourdes, a reflection or mirror of church life back home. The geographical and social setting may be different (Turner and Turner 1978) but it is the observance of ritualistic activity among pilgrims that binds together the purpose/meaning of the visit. The evidence in this study would appear to support the notion in figure 6.1 – as reported in the discussion chapter in this study 'individualism at Lourdes offers the most effective method for circumnavigating the ecclesiastical presuppositions so readily mapped out for the weekly visiting Diocesan groups.'

6.1.2 Gazing on the 'real thing' - The contestation of dual space – Are all pilgrims tourists or are all tourists pilgrims?

One could, at this point in this study, conveniently refer to Smith (1992), Stoddard (1996) Santos (2003) and others, and claim that the tourist and pilgrim at Lourdes are separate, distinguishable groups. While this may be a convenient hypothesis, even Smith (1992), who disaggregates the tourist and pilgrim in her conceptual framework, had to concede that *"...the sacred is not necessarily solemn or restricted to the pilgrim...tourist encounters can be just as compelling and almost spiritual in personal meaning"* (:2). Of course by placing pilgrims and tourists as conceptual opposites, rather than binary opposites (Dora 2012), one does not totally discount the possibility that there is interplay, cross-over and movement – both physically and perceptually. The view that the tourist and pilgrim can be 'conceptually' separated may however support the theory that the tourist is ideologically neutral (Boorstin 1961; Urry 1990 & 2011); a point which would concur with Volozinskis (1991) alternative separation theory... *"churches are emptied of worshippers while they are full the rest of the time with tourists, frequently non-Christians"...* (: 76). Volozinskis (1991) makes a clear distinction between 'worshippers' and 'tourists' in his study; the separation can be evidenced in the reference to 'non-Christians'.

Whether one accepts conceptual opposites, binary opposites or the theory that purports that tourists are ideologically neutral, there is evidence that would suggest that the early theories of blurred boundaries (MacCannell 1976; Graburn 1977 & 1983; Turnbull 1981) are valid (theoretically and in practice). McCabe (2009) in particular focuses on the closing 'gap' between previously reported theories of homogeneity (tourists and pilgrims as separate groups); as McCabe (2009) points out there has been a more general shift towards *"postmodernis(tic) thinking, which has tended to emphasise the subjective, multiple and negotiated characteristics of individuals' experiences over more reductionist and rigid conceptualisations"* (McCabe 2009 in Tribe 2009: 34). Of course McCabe's (2009) theory does not hold weight if one considers the act of visiting a pilgrimage shrine, such as Lourdes, as inconsequential, individualistic and constructed purely on a personal level. In reality it is the alternative markers that have equal influence in the construction process for both pilgrims and tourists visiting Lourdes (on every level).

The consequence of tourism is that it can never truly be personal (Ashworth 2006). If one considers the meaning of Lourdes, in a general sense, then it would be difficult not to be influenced by the more general, and characterised, markers that define the shrine. The tourist's in this study were, as discussed earlier in this chapter, able to circumnavigate (to a certain extent – see tourist's comments below) the pre-determined operators gaze. This is in direct opposition to the work of Urry (1990) who claimed that the tourist was unable to escape the hermeneutic cycle of determinism [2]. This theory certainly fits with the seminal work of Boorstin (1961) which posits that the tourist is searching for a simulacrum of reality – that matches the pre-destined images that one has in mind (Tribe 2009). The fact that one thinks one is free of the makers gaze may, according to MacCannell (2001), only be a 'level' of freedom within the fixed grid of articulations. Certainly at Lourdes one could claim that external imagery is a clear marker and influence on the construction process; ...It stuns me every time I come here...It is like Blackpool with Crucifixes...that's the only way I can describe it...it is what it is – this is kind of what we expected...Tourist's comments. The tourist's comments draw a direct comparison with Blackpool in the north of England; a tourist resort known as tacky, commercialised and touristy (Page and Connell 2009). This is an important point in this analysis and interpretation chapter for two reasons; 1) there is recognition that the perception of Lourdes (tacky, commercialised, and touristy) is in effect what the tourist is experiencing, and 2) the tourist's state that this is what they expected...they are gazing on a perception constructed externally by the marker...a point of articulation that they cannot gaze beyond (see Urry 1990 & 2011; MacCannell 2001; Reader and Walter 1993).

The tourists interviewed in this study question the religious motives for visiting the site. The recurring theme among the tourists at Lourdes is the reference to the lack of specialness/sacredness at the shrine.....there's nothing sacred or special anymore.....I think it is an absolute disgrace...Tourist's comments. The differentiation of visitors to Lourdes may indeed only be reflective of these 'religious' expectations and markers. The pilgrim sample in this study also have parallel pre-formed expectations that are dominated by a counter-marker; the Catholic Church. Pre-formed expectations, laid down in advance of ones visit, can only be relative to the process one has taken to get to Lourdes; in terms of group construction, leadership and expectations. In reality whether we classify individuals as tourist, pilgrim or religious tourist it is evident that the Smith (1992) framework fails to offer a 'true' central ground/point where articulations are shared, where the tourist and the pilgrim intermix, where parallel realties are shared, and where experiences overlap. As the discussion chapter in this study points out, the pilgrim and tourists are able to a) distinguish between each other based upon expectation, b) move between corresponding activities, and c) identify what they are potentially going to get out of their visit. It is these three factors that provide an alternative framework which supports a true central ground which navigates away from polarisation and segregation and supports acceptance, interplay and cross-fertilisation of activities, parallel meaning and both tangible and intangible souvenirs which are taken home as reminders of why one came to Lourdes [3].

The title to this section (6.1.2) asks a very simple question; *Are all pilgrims tourists or are all tourists pilgrims?* While in reality there may be no simple answer to this question one can posit that the theoretical framework's offered by Smith (1992), Stoddard (1996), Santos

(2003) and others do not address the complexity of separation among pilgrims and tourists. Perhaps Santos (2003) is the most supportive of a 'community' at pilgrimage sites that are not conceptual opposites or even binary opposites but are a co-existing phenomena, underpinned by alternative markers, differing expectations and counter-positional constructions. Santos (2003) attempts to avoid the black and white polarisations of religion and tourism - the former appearing as religious fundamentalist and the latter as an unrestrained hedonist – by creating a framework which supports interactions. Collins-Kreiner (2010) concurs with this view by claiming that *"the differing experiences of the visitor, whether pilgrim or tourist, should therefore be represented on a scale based on the effect of the visit, in terms of time and strength. To what extent were they affected after their return home, regardless of their initial classification as tourist or pilgrim?"* (: 12). The findings of this study present a community of visitors to Lourdes that are multi-motivated, framed by external markers, both touristic and ecclesiastical, and are able to move among classifications regardless of how they may be framed (tourist, pilgrim or religious tourist). What this study offers is a new paradigm that removes the rigidity of Smith (1992) & Stoddard (1996) but which also stops short of the notion of Collins-Kreiner's (2010) complete subjectivity. For the tourist and pilgrim communities at Lourdes objectivity and subjectivity are phenomena which are inter-mixed with external imagery, created perception and marker control. The findings in this study would support McCabe's (2005) principle of anathematical freedom; there is, in reality, structured, objective, institutionalised control within the relative freedom one has in selecting ones leisure activity – which can be applied to pilgrim-touristic activity. While many conceptual frameworks (Cohen1972 & 1974; Plog 1974 & Dann 1981; Smith 1992; Stoddard 1996; Swarbrooke 1999) have attempted to position tourists in a typological category there remains limited evidence, in this study, which supports such a clear separation of categorisation. To return to the findings of this study the categorisation (or lack of) of visitors to Lourdes is probably best summed up by a member of an organised Diocesan group... I think pilgrimage is so individual, every person or pilgrim will have a distinct and unique reason for signing up for it...

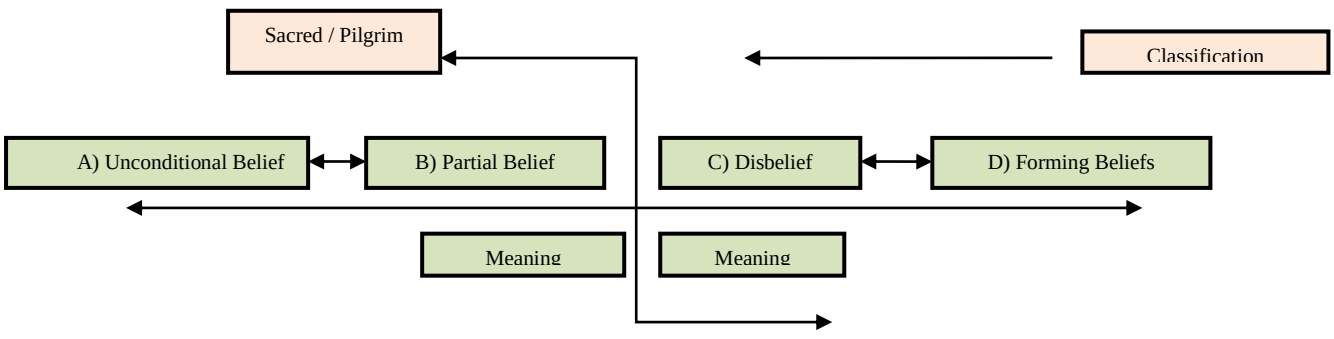
6.1.3 The mysticism of Lourdes and the meaning of pilgrimage

When one considers the opening sentences (...a conscious thoughtful search because Mary appeared here...) of the third section of the findings in this study (the pull factors – experiencing Marian mysticism, cures and miracles – the meaning of pilgrimage) one can easily get a sense of the immense commitment, of pilgrims, to Bernadette, Mary and the myth of Lourdes. If one is to posit that pilgrims and tourists come to Lourdes because Mary has asked them to ...why do people still come to Lourdes...because Mary asks them to, because we trust in Mary, because of the pull of Mary... then it may be acceptable to present the theory that it is in the 'making sense of Mary's call' that one will construct meaning when visiting Lourdes. Of course such a claim is not without controversy or contradiction. Certainly from the perspective of the tourist one could claim an alternative position – a position which denies the sacredness and specialness of Lourdes; a theory discussed at some length in the previous section of this study (6.1.2). Even when one considers the traditional Catholic viewpoint, which claims that Lourdes is a place made special by heavenly forces, there is among pilgrims a spectrum of belief levels which range from unconditional to partial [4]. It is interesting to note that even the Catholic authorities

have re-classified Lourdes to focus upon the psychosomatic nature of visiting Lourdes rather than the direct healing or miraculous power one would traditionally associate with the shrine. This thesis has commented, several times, on why Mary appeared at Lourdes; to manifest the hidden presence of God, to renew community life, to convert hearts, to reawaken and stimulate faith, and, to renew hope and dynamism in the church (Laurentin; undated). As previously discussed, Laurentin's (undated) factors may lead one to surmise that Mary's call is focused upon the restoration of religious commitment. This theory would certainly have resonance with earlier connections between Catholic restoration in France, during the mid 1850s, and the authentication of Lourdes by the ecclesiastical delegations of the early 1860s (Taylor 2003). This theory also fits with Williamson's (1958) claim that the Christianisation of the Grotto at Massabielle is the first chapter in the tale of Lourdes. One could, at this point, cross-reference various sources which present a theoretical connection that parallels the story of Lourdes with other religious events. This however would only serve as a counter-theoretical distraction. What is important at this point in the study is the connection that visitors to Lourdes have with Mary and how that influences construction; as discussed in the discussion chapter 'there are a range of perceptions regarding the apparitions at Lourdes and the subsequent link that Lourdes may have to Mary via a portal or channel'.

The connection that visitors have with Mary is a major factor in how meaning is constructed at Lourdes. The discussion chapter presented a theoretical model which separates pilgrims into four types dependent upon personal beliefs. The four identified groups represented in Fig 6.2 are described in the discussion chapter; they 'form the basis of a new understanding and application that creates an alternative approach to the study of pilgrimage by creating a continuum that charts not only what one may classify oneself as (tourist or pilgrim) but additionally what Lourdes means (both spiritually and humanly) to the visitor'. 'Figure 6.2 offers an alternative paradigm where the points of Smith's (1992) continuum (Sacred/Pilgrim – Secular/Tourist) are part of a broader conceptualisation that contribute to understanding how individuals, within a more specific sense, construct their own meaning'.

Fig 6.2 Typological Visitors to Lourdes and Constructions of Differentiating Factors that Determine Meaning – A Conceptual Framework



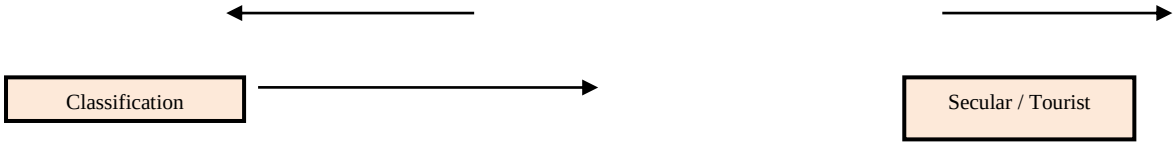


Figure 6.2 presents a framework which separates 'levels of meaning' but which also offers a perspective which supports movement between groups. Movement, in a real sense, may be dependant upon several factors. One can presume, given the construction of each group, that an individual would/could move, interdependently, between groups, maybe many times during a visit to Lourdes. For the individual visiting Lourdes there is a real sense that they are taking part in something special – even the sceptical Catholic believer and secular tourist (to the right of D) in fig 6.2) will be drawn into a series of events which may stimulate a movement between categories – most usually during the duration of the pilgrimage. There is, perhaps, in figure 6.2, a combination of Smith (1992) and Stoddard's (1996) earlier conceptualisations, especially if one considers the disaggregation of the pilgrim and tourist in their respective frameworks. The primary difference however between Smith (1992), Stoddard (1996) and the early proponents of pilgrim/tourist categorisation/typology and Fig 6.2 is that figure 6.2 constructs a platform for determining how classification (A to D) may determine, influence and control how meaning is constructed. This point is of course relative to the theory of group leadership presented in section 6.1.1. If one was to map figure 6.2 to, the categories of group construction and leadership impact in figure 6.1, then one may presume that there is overlap, interplay and cross-fertilisation between categories and conceptualisations. Figure 6.3 offers a combined conceptualisation of how leadership (fig 6.1) and categorisation (fig 6.2) are 1) dominant factors in the construction of individual meaning, and 2) interrelated.

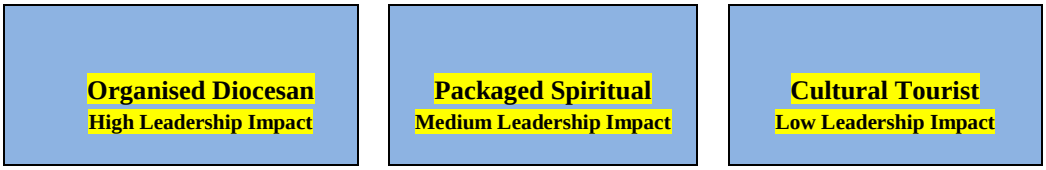
Meaning is not one-dimensional among the groups represented in figure 6.3; this study has already commented on Collins-Kreiner's (2010) proposition that it is *"the differing experiences of the visitor, whether pilgrim or tourist, (which) should therefore be represented on a scale based on the effect of the visit, in terms of time and strength...and, the extent (to which they) were affected after their return home, regardless of their initial classification as tourist or pilgrim?"* (: 12). Collins-Kreiner's (2010) claim is only a partial reflection however of the multiple influences, constructs and external factors which may be relative to meaning. De-differentiation is in fact ideologically neutral at Lourdes; ones position on the continuum of figure 6.3 may not be static but in fact may be dependant upon several interrelating factors such as 1) location; as in the Grotto or a bar/cafe 2) whether one is with a formal Diocesan group, enjoying an informal touristic activity, or alone, and 3) the point of control (high, medium or low). What can be posited is that it is the combination of factors that contribute to the construction of meaning, both real and perceived, for those visiting Lourdes?

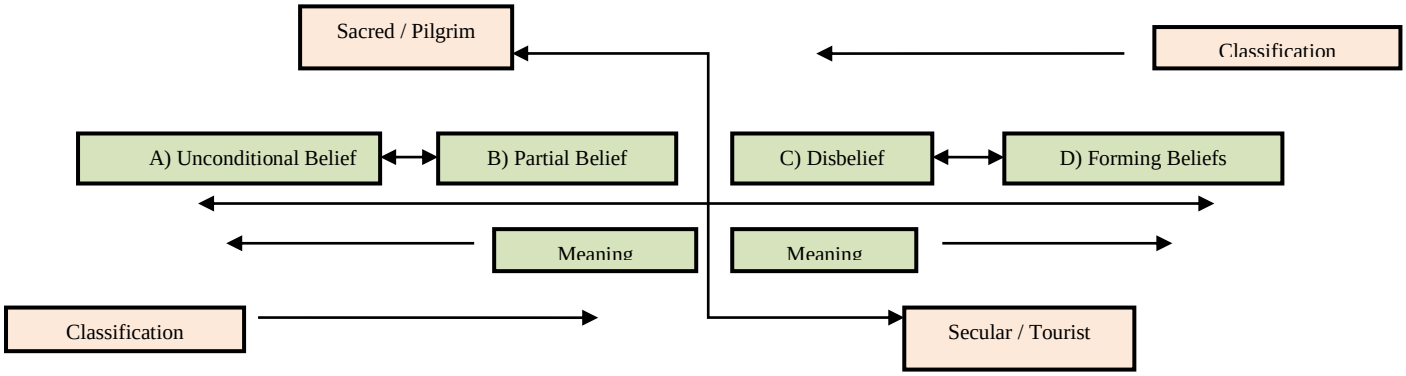
Fig 6.3 Leadership and Categorisation Influence on Constructed Meaning – A Conceptual Framework

(Typological Visitors to Lourdes and Constructions of Differentiating Factors that Determine Meaning – A Conceptual Framework)

6.1.4 Escaping objectivity? – Pilgrims testimonies

The first three sections (themes) of this concluding chapter reflect the factors which, individually and collectively, contribute to the individual subjective construction of meaning when visiting a pilgrimage shrine (Lourdes). Section four presents a culmination of the first





three themes in this study through three pilgrim narratives. The three narratives are both metaphorical and allegorical, especially when one considers the complex undertones; they are the stories that are at the core of the making sense of Lourdes – they are used to construct a personal narrative of Lourdes. There is however a dichotomy in this suggestion – pilgrim's stories are highly individual, subjective and manipulated to suit the needs of the teller – of what use could they be to anyone else? Lourdes started in 1858 with a narrative that was based on one person's miraculous visions – St Bernadette. Lourdes has developed a sub-culture during its one hundred and fifty year history which started with Bernadette's story being retold and which now is manifested in the countless bars and cafes where pilgrims meet, after the daily torchlight procession, to share stories, recount miracles and recycle past stories of healing.

The passing of stories from pilgrim to pilgrim is a fundamental mechanism in the mythology of Lourdes. Stories are the basis upon which unobligated faith, duty, ritual and observance are based. It is the combination of stories (every individual will have access to different stories or the same stories told in a different way) that individuals will use as a counter-ecclesiastical construction – a paradigm movement which is self constructed and exists

independently of church control. Recounts of miracles and healing are perhaps the basis of the narratives which are critical to the preservation of Lourdes.

The testimony section, in the findings chapter of this study, presents three very different stories which are linked by unobligated acceptance of truth, reality and personal calling. If one was to take the three testimonies as a whole it would be difficult to identify the contemporary 'ecclesiastical' (Lourdes Medical Bureau) cautious position which supports a radical movement of direction from miraculous healing to psychosomatic relief. The visiting pilgrims to Lourdes, however, have never doubted the transcendental power of the Grotto to miraculously, both physically and spiritually, change individual's lives. The Lourdes Medical Bureau provide evidence of sixty seven 'authenticated' miracles that are an 'ecclesiastical reflection' of repositioning the shrine; partly to respond to external pressures by offering the 'cynical onlookers' an external lens which conveniently avoids emphasising the type of story presented in the three testimonies. For the visiting pilgrims Lourdes provides evidence of miraculous healing each and every day; both actually and metaphorically. The recirculation of stories is the vehicle which provides the framework for Lourdes – it is the framework which is personalised to meet each individual's needs, expectations and constructions [5].

The findings and discussion chapter in this study have, interdependently, considered the meaning of the three pilgrim testimonies described in these paragraphs. The remainder of this section will consider how these testimonies, individualistic in construction, fit with the more specific constructions presented in figure 6.3 - Leadership and Categorisation Influence on Constructed Meaning – A Conceptual Framework.

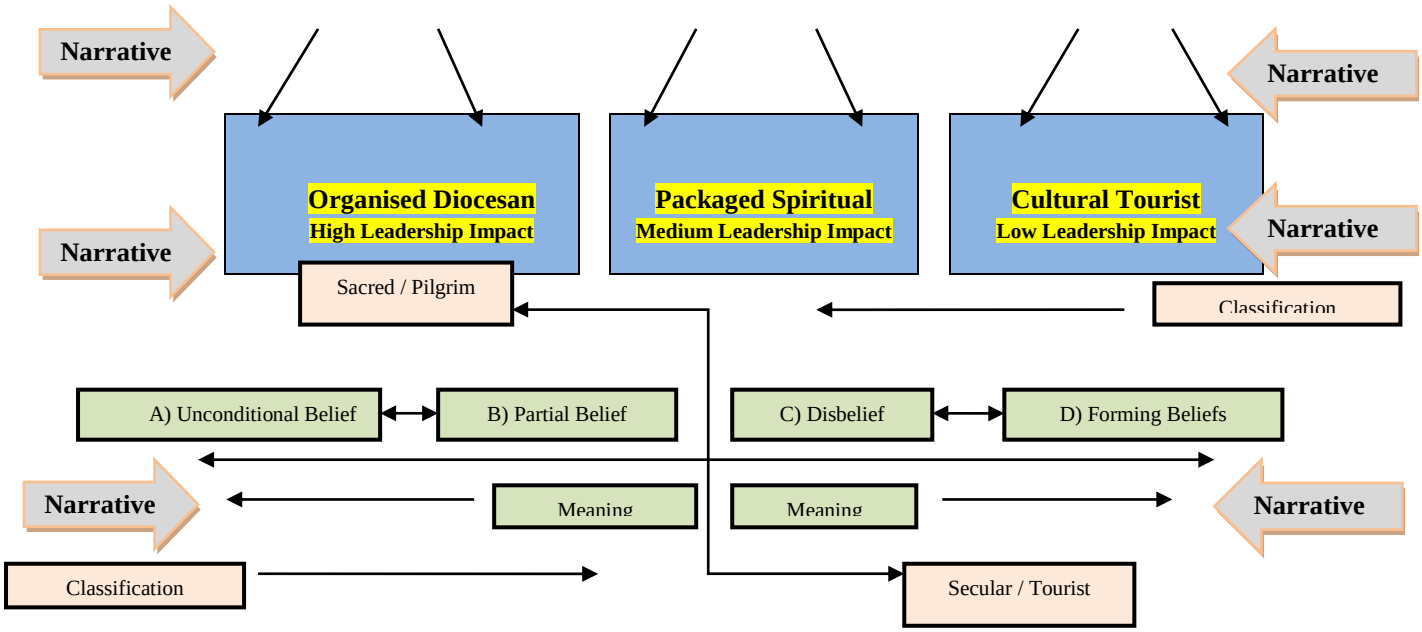
One may argue that it would be difficult to integrate the highly personalised narratives of the three testimonies into a framework such as figure 6.3. The three pilgrims who recounted the testimonies were, individually, part of organised Diocesan groups which would suggest a high leadership impact. According to figure 6.3 this would indicate that all three pilgrims were in groups A or B – unconditional to partial belief in the Lourdes story. It would be difficult to disagree with such a proposition. For those individuals, pilgrim or tourist, listening to such recounts it would be impossible to make such generalisations concerning categorisations. It is in the passing on of the stories/narratives where meaning is formed, constructed and applied to ones own individual subjective influence. Stories form the alternative gaze at Lourdes; they are the second 'hidden' layer upon which 'ecclesiastical' strictures can be circumvented. Stories offer a glimpse of reality where individual meaning can be 'pure, unfiltered and constructed outside of external control'. Figure 6.3 does reflect individual meaning, construction and influence but it is the circulation of stories that frames the more specific personal constructions that one may identify with contemporary theory (i.e. which supports the shift from objectivity to subjectivity) (see Dora 2012; Andriotis 2011; Collins-Kreiner 2010). Figure 6.4 presents a completed view of how narratives are the encompassing factor in the construction of meaning – the discussion chapter (section 5.1.4) concluded by stating that... 'The stories recounted in these testimonies present an opportunity, for pilgrims, to engage with the story of Lourdes on a level that can be personalised to meet specific needs, expectations and constructions. It is the testimonies which transcend both the traditional and contemporary theory – they offer the pilgrim a 'real' Lourdes where

construction is not jealously guarded by those who have power or influence but is part of an individualistic apparatus where it is the individual who has control. This proposition is an important factor as one attempts to achieve the critical points that may influence the construction of individual subjective meaning when visiting a pilgrimage shrine'.

Fig 6.4 Narrative Influence on Subjective Construction of Meaning – A Conceptual Framework of Competing Discourses in the Construction of Individual's Subjective Meaning at Pilgrimage Shrines (specifically Lourdes)

(Leadership and Categorisation Influence on Constructed Meaning – A Conceptual Framework)

(Typological Visitors to Lourdes and Constructions of Differentiating Factors that Determine Meaning – A Conceptual Framework)



Section 6.1 has presented a new framework in the study of pilgrimage and tourism. Traditional theoretical approaches support the notion of objectivity, control and the shrine as the central focus of pilgrimage while contemporary theoretical approaches support the notion of subjectivity, freedom and the individual as the central focus of pilgrimage. Figure 6.4 presents an alternative framework which supports the notion of competing discourses, multilayered influences/control and complex narratives which underpin belief, duty and ritual. The evidence from the findings in this study present a more complex reality where objectivity and subjectivity are blurred...especially when one considers the polarised and

interrelating factors that, combined, form figure 6.4. This study is not concerned with the quantitative measurement of pilgrims/tourists but with the qualitative factors that influence the construction of individual's subjective meaning when visiting pilgrim shrines. Section 6.2 will present a response to the research question and aims by assessing the theoretical development framework presented in this section.

6.2 Response to the research question and objectives

6.2.1 Introduction

This study commenced by stating that 'there has been a significant change process in pilgrimage and religious tourism, practice, and theoretical literature development during the last forty years'. Of course one could posit some truth in this suggestion, especially when one traces phenomenon such as tourism growth – especially linked to heritage - and traditional religious disengagement - mostly associated with traditional western-European 'Christian' faiths. The theoretical study of pilgrimage, according to current authors such as Dora (2012), Andriotis (2011), Collins-Kreiner (2010), Badone and Roseman (2004) and others is dominated by the transition from objectivity to subjectivity. This theoretical documentation of pilgrimage growth and development claims that contemporary pilgrims and religious tourists are guided by their own subjective, individual constructions of meaning. If one was to accept this proposition based on the evidence of this study then one would fall short of full subjective construction. This study presents a new framework (fig 6.4) which offers an alternative theorisation to the traditional and contemporary view and which will be used to respond to the question and aims of this thesis.

6.2.2 The research question and objectives - The factors that influence the construction of individuals' subjective meaning when visiting pilgrimage shrines?

The research question in this study asks what factors influence the construction of individuals' subjective meaning when visiting pilgrimage shrines. Perhaps the starting point, in response to this question, is by considering Hebdige's (1979) claim that ideology is by no means neutral*...''in highly complex societies, (claims Hebdige)...the crucial question has to do with which specific ideologies, representing the interests of which specific groups will prevail at any given moment, in any given situation. To deal with this question, we must first consider how power is distributed in our society. That is, we must ask which groups have how much say in defining, ordering and classifying out the social world. For instance, if we pause to reflect for a moment, it should be obvious that access to the means by which ideas are disseminated in our society is not the same for all...some groups have more say, more opportunity to make the rules, to organise meaning, while others are less favourably placed, have less power to produce and impose their definitions of the world on the world''* (: 14). Hebdige's (1978) theory certainly fits with the first section of the literature/findings/discussion of this study - which presents a view of control/authority and the dominant role of the marker in framing individual space at Lourdes. One could equally argue at this stage that 'institutionalised control', (control that is framed by group construction), is the dominant contributor in the construction process; especially if one

isolates figure 6.1 (pilgrimage group construction and leadership impact – a conceptual framework) from the subsequent sections of this conclusion. To question 'where control is held' would not be inappropriate given the construction of itineraries which parameter pilgrims in a semi-holistic 'ecclesiastical' enclave. On this evidence one could easily surmise that it is the itinerary and subsequent participation of activities that holds pilgrims in the markers gaze. Hebdige (1978) supports this view which alienates 'unfiltered' construction and centres instead on the role of the marker as a dominant force in framing individual space (at Lourdes). Control is only one part of the itinerary story however; especially when one considers the complex interrelationships between leadership influences, levels of belief and narrative construction presented in figure 6.4.

It would be difficult to isolate the tourist from this discussion. If one posits that aspects of control (the marker) frame individual space at Lourdes then one could also surmise that it is in the study of tourism where the complexity of construction can be simplified, deconstructed, negotiated and better understood. This thesis, however, has consistently supported the notion put forward by McCabe (2005) which supports a shift from reductionist and rigid conceptualisations (of tourists and pilgrims) to a postmodern paradigm which has tended to emphasise the subjective, multiple and, importantly, the negotiated characteristics of individuals; and that the markers frame is equally significant whether pilgrim or tourist. This theory is supported by the interrelating factors of figure 6.4, which could be suggested have equal value, especially when one considers that individual construction is a negotiated phenomena influenced by the three elements (fig 6.4) which, when combined, can be applied to each individuals personal situation/scenario/experience dependent upon how each individual self-classifies themselves.

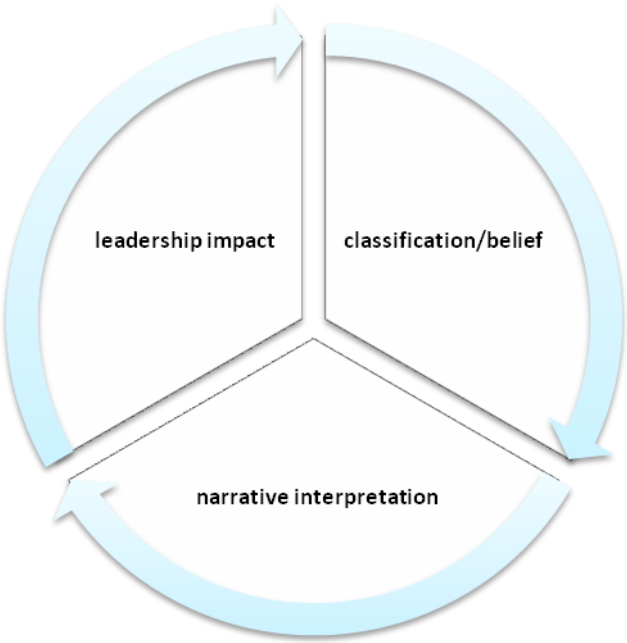
The research question in this study includes the term 'subjective meaning'. If one was to apply the principles of construction presented in this section, thus far, to the notion of subjective meaning then one may question its inclusion. Of course one can justify inclusion because it is the combination of constructions (fig 6.4), in all their complexity, that purports a position that is increasingly concerned with the individual apparatus; from this statement one can make a specific claim that...

1. it is the individual that holds control of construction, and
2. it is the individual that creates a process, through interpretation, of applying the multiple layers of influence to their own experience, and
3. it is the individual that disaggregates, deciphers and interprets the external influences to construct a reality where meaning has consequence upon their individual journey; both literally and metaphorically and both pre-visit and during/post pilgrimage

While this proposition may appear to support the contemporary theory of subjectivity (Dora 2012, Andriotis 2011, Collins-Kreiner 2010) there is only a partial reflection of the 'new postmodern pilgrimage' in this study. Figure 6.4 presents a framework that is dominated by the competing and negotiated discourses that are the factors which influence the construction of individual's subjective meaning at pilgrimage shrines. Each stage of the findings in this

study can be applied to the construction process and equally can be evidenced in figure 6.4. Therefore it can be posited that there are three factors that influence the construction of individual's subjective meaning when visiting pilgrimage shrines (fig 6.5). The three factors presented here are not exclusive and are not linear concepts – they are the combination of interrelating factors upon which meaning is constructed. The construction process at Lourdes is multi-dimensional, multi-layered and influenced by self-constructed narratives which underpin multiple factors associated with belief, duty, observance, ritual, control, conflict, authority and most importantly, return.

Figure 6.5 Factors that Influence Construction of Meaning at Pilgrimage Shrines – A Cyclical Model



If one was to consider where meaning is held then it would not be unacceptable to consider marker control as the dominant factor in framing individual space. Figure 6.5 however presents an alternative framework where meaning is held in multiple places, at multiple times and in multiple constructions. Figure 6.5 is also cyclical which might suggest that meaning changes, dependent upon influence. It has already been noted in this section that the three factors of figure 6.5 are not exhaustive and are not linear concepts. The three factors are the construct upon which one engages and subsequently processes the meaning of Lourdes on an individualistic, personalised and subjective level.

6.3 Chapter Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to consider the interpretation of the theoretical debates (literature review & discussion) and findings (findings & discussion) in this study in relation to the overall research question and research aims. The chapter has presented an alternative

theoretical/conceptual framework (fig 6.4 & fig 6.5) which responds to the research question by presenting three factors which influence the construction of meaning at pilgrimage shines;

4. leadership impact – *control, authority, itinerary, participation*
5. classification/belief – *unconditional, partial, disbelief, forming*
6. narrative interpretation – *stories, testimonies, recounts*

Each of the three factors presents a competing discourse which is manifested in the theory and practice of pilgrimage (factors which will be considered in the concluding chapter of this thesis).

Therefore the definition of pilgrimage devised from the content of this chapter is...

'The process of pilgrimage (pre-visit, visit, post-visit) is a multi-dimensional activity constructed with symbiotic actions (objective and subjective) and present in the form of complex narratives that are experienced, interpreted and applied to form/construct an individual subjective meaning that has internal and external influence'.

Notes

1. 'Internet pilgrimage' – According to MacWilliams (2003) the major theoretical contribution to pilgrimage studies, of the Turners (1978), lies in their characterisation of it as a liminoid phenomenon. While Turnerian (1978) liminality would suggest an initiatory journey MacWilliams (2003) presents an alternative 'form' of liminality where one joins a cyber-community to undertake an holistic pilgrimage – an online journey which, like Turners (1978) liminality, is centred on detachment, re-creation and the joining together with other cyber-pilgrims to form an online community. For MacWilliams (2003) cyber-pilgrimage is pure Turnerian (1978) – detachment, liminality, communitas, return. See MacWilliams, M. W. (2003) Virtual Pilgrimages on the Internet in Religion, 32, pp 315-335.

2. "Involved in much tourism is a kind of hermeneutic (interpretive) circle. What is sought for in a holiday is a set of photographic images as seen in tour company brochures or on TV programmes. While the tourist is away, this then moves on to a tracking down and capturing of these images for oneself. And it ends with travellers demonstrating that they have been there by showing their version of the images that they had seen before they set off" (Urry 1990: 140).

3. The souvenir shops at Lourdes, according to Marnham (1980), sell objects of piety. Marnham (1980) is not referring to the minority of shops which sell religious literature, Catholic icons or pious memorabilia. Marnham (1980) is in fact referring to the many boutiques that trade with pilgrims and tourists throughout the pilgrimage season. According to Marnham (1980) "*There are virgins in a snow storm, virgins in a television set, little cutie-doll bug-eyed half-witted virgins praying on velveteen mats; virgins in make-up, virgins in modern dress and the world renowned hollow, plastic virgins whose crowns unscrew to turn into bottle stoppers"*(: 43).

4. The spectrum of beliefs can be classified as follows; 1) an apparitional site and as a site which retains intercessionary status to act as a channel between the human and the spiritual {Group A}, 2) acceptance of the apparitions but no belief in the continuation of the site as a portal {Group B} and 3) {Group C} which questions the reality / provenance of the apparitions at Lourdes. Group D contains those individuals that have experienced Lourdes {maybe many times} but are still unsure what quantifies reality and how that reality may be relevant to them.

5. It is interesting to note that the pilgrim's response to the LMB guidelines, for establishing the reality of miraculous healing at Lourdes, is one of disengagement. The earlier sections of the findings/discussion

chapters may support a theory that emphasises power, control and church authority but it would appear from the evidence of the testimonies that the narratives which underpin faith are self constructed and exist independently of church control.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion

On July 28th 1858 an Episcopal decree set up a Commission appointed to decide upon the authenticity and character of the events that have occurred during the last six months, on the occasion of a real or alleged appearance of the Most Blessed Virgin in a grotto situated to the west of the town of Lourdes.

(Williamson 1958: ix)

Why do we come to Lourdes? Well that is simple...To pray and to play...

(Pilgrim – Lourdes 2010)

7.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to draw conclusions from this study. The first section of this chapter (7.1) will conclude this thesis by considering how this study contributes to a) the theoretical literature and knowledge accumulation in the study of pilgrimage and tourism, and b) the practice of visiting a post-industrial Marian apparitional pilgrimage site (Turner and Turner 1978). The second section of this chapter will conclude by considering the limitations of the study; the areas for future research; and the target audience for the research.

The chapter will thus be structured as follows;

- Contribution to theoretical literature and knowledge accumulation; and, contribution to the practice of visiting a pilgrimage shrine (7.1)
- Limitations of the study (7.2)
- Areas for future research (7.3)
- Target audience for the research (7.4)
- Chapter conclusion (7.5)

7.1 Contribution to theoretical literature and knowledge accumulation; and, contribution to the practice of visiting a pilgrimage shrine

7.1.1 Introduction – A literature overview

The literature review in this study is set out in three parts which document a theoretical timeline dominated by the transition from objective to subjective reality. Part one documents the traditional theoretical paradigms in the study of pilgrimage and religious tourism; most notably introducing the seminal work of Turner and Turner (1978). Part one is grounded in the objectivity of the pilgrim experience (external and generalised) where it is posited that the shrine is the central focus of the experience. The objective framework is most visible in the work of Nolan and Nolan (1989) who visually present their 'systematic' inventory of western European pilgrimage shrines as statistical evidence of growth, homogenous motivation and the determination of the site as the primary locus of meaning. Part one also includes the motivational study of pilgrimage (Blackwell 2007) which attempts to examine basic

underlying needs and more complex variable motivations of pilgrims visiting postmodern shrines.

Part two considers the intermediate, or bridging, literature in the study of pilgrimage and religious tourism. Part two is dominated by the work of Valene Smith (1992) who modelled the first framework which placed pilgrims and tourists upon a measurable, conditioned and controlled continuum. Smith's (1992) framework offers innumerable positions for sacred-secular combinations but fails to provide an opportunity for the individual story. Smith's (1992) framework was supported by Stoddard (1996), Santos (2003), and most notably Reader and Walter (1993), whose work popularised pilgrimage by overlaying the traditional objective approaches with a new form of pilgrimage which reflected the inner self, an emphasis on the experiential, and the reconciliation of pilgrimage and inner spirituality. Part two also considers the work of Eade (1991 & 1992) and Eade and Sallnow (1992). The work of Eade (1991) was the first study to challenge the Turnerian (1978) philosophy of complete communitas at Lourdes by presenting a model which posits that authority, control and conflict are credible alternatives. Eade (1991 & 1992) presents a convincing, personal, view of Lourdes as akin to "*a tangle of contradictions, a cluster of coincident opposites"* (in Eade and Sallnow 1991: 52). According to Eade (1991 & 1992) the daily routine at Lourdes - visiting the Grotto/baths, attending Mass, the evening torchlight procession - are the points of conflict; especially when one considers the role of the church in controlling activity, itinerary and participation.

Part three examines the current theoretical paradigms in the study of pilgrimage and tourism, most notably expressed by Dora (2012), Andriotis (2011) and Collins-Kreiner (2010). It was perhaps the earlier work of Badone and Roseman (2004) which offered the first alternative pilgrim-touristic framework that is at the front of post-modern religious tourism. Badone and Roseman (2004) introduced the notion of negotiated meanings in the pilgrim-touristic experience; linked predominantly to the movement at religious centres and the construction of social identities. Collins-Kreiner's (2010) work stresses a new philosophical position where the construction of meaning is personal, individual and part of the 'whole' pilgrimage process. Of course one cannot view Collins-Kreiner's (2010) theory in isolation – especially if one considers that the *"transition from modern to post-modern theory is still understood as an expansion, and not a contradiction of existing theory...the transformation is not as sharp and dramatic as some researchers would like to think"* (:14). The expansion of theory, from objectivity to subjectivity, has been documented by Dora (2012) who claims that the study of pilgrim-touristic behaviour has been caught between two concepts; space and place. According to Dora (2012) the traditional objective expression of pilgrimage has been through the focus of the place and on their ontological power or spiritual magnetism. Dora (2012) posits that there is a contemporary fascination however in the articulation of individual space through movement and social practices. Andriotis (2011) concurs with this theorisation when he claims that *"from the perspective of the components of religious heritage or pilgrimage landscapes, sacred sites can be seen as the product of multiple discourses"* (: 1628).

7.1.2 Theoretical contribution

This thesis commenced by offering two contemporary theoretical views in the study of pilgrimage and tourism;

"what surrounds the shrines and how it affects both the shrine's status and visitor's experience has usually gone largely understudied, if not ignored" (Dora 2012: 952)

"tourism literature focuses most of its attention on tourism's affect on the local population and extremely little on its effect on the visitors themselves." Only recently *"have researchers started to examine the effect of visits on the visitors in a more specific manner"* (Collins-Kreiner 2010: 9)

This study presents an alternative theoretical paradigm that has emerged from the traditional (objective), intermediate (bridging) and contemporary (subjective) literature. The response to the research question claimed that 'the construction process at Lourdes is multi-dimensional, multi-layered and influenced by self-constructed narratives which underpin multiple factors associated with belief, duty, observance, ritual, control, conflict, authority and most importantly, return'. This claim presents a new theoretical framework which embraces the multi-dimensional and multi-layered influences upon the construction process; both literal and metaphorical. The literature in the study of pilgrim-touristic construction supports a shift from the objective to the subjective - this study proposes a hybridisation of existing theory that supports three dominant paradigms/frameworks;

1. **Meaning is not one-dimensional.** The theoretical shift from objectivity to subjectivity is only a partial reflection of reality. Figure 6.5 proposes a cyclical framework dominated by three competing factors – leadership impact / classification-belief / narrative-interpretation. Each of the competing factors identified in figure 6.5 would/could support the notion of object/subject (ivity) but it is the combination of the factors that presents an alternative framework where control/freedom/authority/individualism are equal bedfellows... Of course one could at this point make rash generalisations concerning individualistic construction – especially when one places pilgrim-touristic activity upon a continuum such as Smith's (1992) or Stoddard's (1996). What is evident from the findings of this study is the combination of competing discourses – each contributing to the construction process – both objective (control / authority / conflict / participation / itinerary / categorisation / belief) and subjective (individuality / freedom / space / narrative / categorisation / belief).

2. **Objectivity and subjectivity are not polarised concepts.** The polarisation of objectivity and subjectivity in the study of pilgrim-touristic behaviour has been well documented. This study introduces an alternative position that supports the symbiosis of objectivity and subjectivity – the concepts are mutual, inter-related and inter-connected – one cannot exist without the other. Objectivity influences subjectivity and vice versa.

3. **The paradigmatic shift from objectivity to subjectivity is not a 'whole concept'.** The literature which charts the theoretical shift from the objective to the subjective exists in isolation from other contributory factors.

7.1.3 Practical contribution

The contribution of this study is based upon what factors influence the construction of individuals' subjective meaning when visiting pilgrimage shrines? The important word in the construction of the research question, in terms of the contribution to practice, is 'visiting'. This study is concerned with those practicing the act of pilgrimage, both in a theoretical and applied context. The application of visiting pilgrimage centres is as old as pre-history; as is the supply of ancillary services and philosophical mechanisms to support such activity. No study is without consequence however, and it is the intention of this final section to present a framework which considers and applies the theoretical contribution (7.1.2) of this work to the act of pilgrimage.

Figure 6.5 presents a model of factors that influence construction of meaning at pilgrimage shrines. The combinations of factors, on an individual level, are not equitable and are not linear but they do offer a glimpse of the inter-related mechanisms that combined determine the influencing factors in the construction process. The act of pilgrimage is a negotiated activity, between experience, influence and control, and, between the pilgrim, the marker and the place. The contribution to the theoretical literature proposed a hybridisation of existing theory that can, equally, be applied to the practical contribution in this study;

1. **Meaning is not one-dimensional.** If one is to accept that there are multiple factors that contribute to the construction of meaning at pilgrimage shrines then one may also posit that there is an application of practice in such a theory. The visitor to Lourdes holds control of construction; it is the individual that disaggregates, deciphers and interprets the multiple external influences to construct a reality where meaning has consequence upon their individual journey. The inference that objectivity and subjectivity are equal partners in such a process points to a reality that places the construction process (multi-dimensional) in the hands of a) the pilgrim/tourist, and b) the marker. This is not a new concept in this study but it does present a dilemma for both pilgrim/tourist and marker. The relationship between pilgrim, tourist and marker at Lourdes is based upon perception; mostly concerned with expectation and actualisation. The relationship is characterised, in this studies findings, by control, dual-space/activity, belief and the influence of pilgrim's narratives (the consequence of such a finely balanced relationship can be traced through the findings/discussion in this study). For the pilgrim/tourist however it is how, at each stage of the construction process, one engages with the external and internal influences that will determine the outcomes of their visit. The practice of visiting Lourdes is relative to each individual's engagement with the site, the marker and other visitors (known and unknown) – both on a practical level and in a metaphorical constructive process. This study has consistently reported on the pre-formed expectations of pilgrims and tourists – it is however the effect of practising

the act of pilgrimage that has the greatest influence on how individuals perceive, construct, interpret and adapt meaning. For the individual visiting Lourdes such a concept has incalculable practical significance. Understanding, experiencing and evaluating the pilgrim journey has significant consequence for the visitor; especially if one is to view the pilgrimage to Lourdes as a repetitive process. For the marker repetition is critical - visitation to Lourdes depends upon engagement - .both with the pre-determined markers and with the need to repeat the experience in a metaphorical cyclical rite of passage. Meaning at Lourdes is multi-dimensional.

2. **Objectivity and subjectivity are not polarised concepts.** The theoretical framework in 7.1.2, which presents an alternative paradigm of objectivity and subjectivity as symbiotic concepts, is a radical shift from the theory presented in the literature review in this study. For the visitor to Lourdes there appears to be a 'state of existence' not dissimilar to the Turnerian (1978) model of separation, limen and return. Visitors to Lourdes display an alternative state where objectivity (shrine, practice, control) and subjectivity (belief, narrative, construction) are constant elements of the experience of the pilgrimage. The binding factors, on a practical level, are the narratives/stories which decipher the polarised paradigms and make sense of personal subjective meaning for visiting and returning to Lourdes. The marker has no influence over the narratives at Lourdes – but is reliant on each individual story as a mechanism to stimulate 'repeat' engagement. The discussion chapter in this study noted – 'The stories recounted in these testimonies present an opportunity, for pilgrims, to engage with the story of Lourdes on a level that can be personalised to meet specific needs, expectations and constructions. It is the testimonies which transcend both the traditional **(objective)** and contemporary **(subjective)** theory – they offer the pilgrim a 'real' Lourdes where construction is not jealously guarded by those who have power or influence but is part of an individualistic apparatus where it is the individual who has control' - . Objectivity and subjectivity are perhaps the external points of control – where the marker has most influence (which is polarised). The narratives are guarded by pilgrims/tourists – they are where true symbiosis is to be found – they are the centre of the experience of visiting Lourdes. The narratives/stories at Lourdes provide a platform for belief which transcends simplistic notions of the self or inner spirituality as dominant contemporary influences. The reason for visiting Lourdes may not be one dimensional but it does depend upon multiple narratives which form the basis for a mythological collection of 'personal' stories. The stories of Lourdes are not official or authenticated but exist as abstract visualisations that one can personalise, interpret and apply to ones individual connection with Lourdes, Bernadette and Mary.

3. **The paradigmatic shift from objectivity to subjectivity is not a 'whole concept'.** The literature that considers the shift from objectivity to subjectivity has been described in 7.1.2 as existing in isolation from other contributing factors. Of course the visitor to Lourdes is not independent of external influencing factors which will

shape and form the experience of pilgrimage. Identifying such factors would be almost impossible given the numerous influences that stimulate individuals to practice pilgrimage. If one is to posit however that there have been levels of shift from objectivity to subjectivity then one must also accept that this phenomenon cannot exist in isolation from other extraneous factors. This study has already commented on the influence of narratives at Lourdes which are a significant marker in the construction process. Identification of such influences provides an understanding of the broader factors which frame the 'whole' experience of pilgrimage both on an individual and influential level.

The contribution to theory and practice presents an alternative and competing paradigm which supports a multi-dimensional process of construction. On a practical level the construction of meaning can be applied by considering how the visitor perceives the experience; whether pilgrim, tourist or religious tourist. Construction is not one-dimensional and neither is it either/or - objective/subjective. The act of pilgrimage is perhaps best encapsulated by Collins-Kreiner (2010) as the both/and approach. Both/and has consequence however especially when one considers the multiple expectations that a site such as Lourdes is burdened with – such as healing, miracles, peace, power, spirituality, respite etc... To return to Andriotis (2011) one may claim that "*sacred sites can be seen as the product of multiple discourses"* (: 1628).

7.2 Limitations of the Study

There are in a Doctoral study likely to be a range of limitations dependent upon a range of inter-relating factors. This study has reported a number of factors which have impacted upon the work such as access issues, ethical concerns and seasonal timeframes. There are however two significant limitations which are worthy of further discussion;

1) **Pilgrim-touristic markers**. This study reported findings from pilgrims and tourists visiting the shrine at Lourdes (the scope of the study and importantly the research question was to explore the construction of 'individuals' meaning). A central tenet of the studies objectives was to determine the markers (ecclesiastical authorities, tourist operators, traders) role in framing individual space at Lourdes. The role of the marker in the construction of individual meaning is critical in building a framework that is inclusive as well as representative of all of the actors in the process (both pre, during and post pilgrimage). The markers at Lourdes were not the direct focus of this study and therefore there is potential for further exploration in terms of marker influence – both pre and post visit as well as in the purchase decision making process, influences, motivations and determinants.

2) **Pre/Post-pilgrimage**. Due to the limitations of time, resources and access this study did not track participants before or after the pilgrimage. The initial research design included two extra stages that would have tracked participants prior to and post pilgrimage. The decision not to include the two extra stages in the research design was taken because of access issues linked to a lack of support from the gatekeeper.

With such a large pilgrimage group it was difficult to identify which sub-group the researcher would be part of until a late stage in the planning process. This effectively meant that a pre-pilgrimage interview or journal was not possible. The view of the pilgrimage director was that the researcher would be present for the pilgrimage and not for any pre or post pilgrimage research activity. From an ethical perspective, and as a guest of the pilgrimage group, one is morally obliged to accept the conditions that are offered.

7.3 Areas for Future Research

The process of undertaking the research for this thesis has uncovered a number of questions that are relevant to the research question. Each of the further questions are beyond the scope of this study but are worthy of consideration for future research. Two areas for future research, which are linked to the limitations of the study, are outlined below;

1) **The wider boundaries and influences of pilgrim-touristic markers.** Understanding the wider influences on pilgrims and tourists is the key to advancing the conceptual frameworks put forward in this study. This study introduces the notion of markers, both touristic and ecclesiastical, as key points of influence on the process of visiting pilgrimage sites. This study did not report on the markers perspective or consider the notion of interaction between marker and group leader in any detail. This area of study will be undertaken as part of a larger post-doctoral research project which will focus upon tourism companies that offer religious travel experiences. This research will be complemented by a parallel study which will examine the internal mechanisms of ecclesiastical bodies in the process of pilgrimage management. This area of study is not without access and ethical concerns which will need to be considered before commencement.

2) **The pre/post-pilgrimage effect**. This study does not report on the extent to which pilgrims and tourists a) make pre-visit purchase decisions/choices, or b) were affected by their visit after their return home. There is significant value in a study that tracks pilgrims and tourists pre and post-pilgrimage to ascertain how the experience has affected them, both in terms of actual and perceived expectation and change. This factor clearly has implications in terms of decision making regarding future visits and pre-visit construction of meaning. This area of study is not without complexity, as discussed in the previous section (limitations), especially in terms of gaining access to a group of pilgrims who could be traced throughout the process.

7.4 Target Audience for the Research

The research presented in this thesis has significant value in terms of the contribution to the theoretical literature review presented in chapter two. If one considers the incremental and systematic nature of the development of the conceptual and theoretical literature framework, it is evident that current research emphasises the shift from shared objectivity to individual and subjective pilgrim-touristic activity. This study offers an alternative conceptualisation in the study of pilgrim-touristic behaviour which focuses upon the construction of meaning

which is multi-dimensional and constructed with symbiotic actions (objective and subjective). This research therefore has two target audiences;

1) *The academic community* - the key findings of this study will be submitted for publication in tourism and theological journals with an emphasis upon contributing to the current conceptualisations of pilgrim-touristic meaning, both generally and specifically

2) *Tourism operators and ecclesiastical markers* – when one considers the limitations and areas for future research sections in this final chapter there is a clear indication that the markers at pilgrimage sites have a significant part to play in the construction of meaning. The key findings of this research will be disseminated among, and analysed with, a range of key tourism and ecclesiastical markers prior to commencing a post-doctoral study which will aim to examine the internal mechanisms in the management and delivery of pilgrim-touristic experiences.

7.5 Chapter Conclusion

The outcome of the three factors, presented in section 7.1.2 & 7.1.3, places the competing discourses (of figure 6.5) as three theoretical and practical contributions in the study of pilgrimage and tourism. While it may be difficult to extract each of the contributions from the factors which influence construction of meaning at pilgrimage shrines it is evident that when taken as a whole the contribution factors offer a new framework in the study of pilgrimage objectivity/subjectivity. The contribution section in this final chapter indeed states that ... 'it is the combination of the factors that presents an alternative framework where control/freedom/authority/individualism are equal bedfellows'...

The conceptual framework (fig 6.4 & fig 6.5) presented in chapter six presents a new framework for the study of pilgrimage and tourism, which when combined, preclude the literature theorisations which support the shift from objective external meaning to subjective internal meaning. While it would be appropriate to claim that pilgrim-tourist differentiation has narrowed and that socio-spiritual factors are now more prevalent than they were previously it would also, based on the evidence of the findings in this thesis, be valid to posit that at Lourdes the marker plays a significant role in the construction process. That said the central element of the contribution of this thesis claims that meaning is in fact not one-dimensional. This claim does of course have consequences when one considers the narratives presented in the findings of this thesis – it is the narratives that transcend objectivity/subjectivity and offer the pilgrim a true liminal ground where expectation and control are counter-positional and unrelated.

Chapter 1 Reference List

Adler, J. (1989) *Origins of Sightseeing* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol 16, pp 7-29

Andriotis, K. (2011) *Genres of Heritage Authenticity: Denotations from a Pilgrimage Landscape* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 38, No. 4, pp. 1613-1633

ATLAS (2005) *Unpublished Conference Proceedings* Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Special Group

Badone, E. and Roseman, S. R. (2004) *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism* University of Illinois Press

Barley, L. (2006) *Christian Roots, Contemporary Spirituality* Church House Publishing

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) *Using thematic analysis in psychology* in Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3 (2), pp 77-101

Bryman, A. (2004) The *Disneyization of Society* SAGE Press

Bryman, A. and Bell, E. (2007) *business research methods* Oxford University Press

Collins-Kreiner, N. (2010) *Researching Pilgrimage: Continuity and Transformations* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol 37, No. 2, pp.440-456

Crowther, P. (2010) Strategic application of events in International Journal of Hospitality Management, 29 (2010), pp 227-235

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (1998) *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues* SAGE Publications

Dora, V. D. (2012) *Setting and Blurring Boundaries: Pilgrims, Tourists and Landscape in Mount Athos and Meteora* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp 951-974

Eade, J. and Sallnow, M. J. (2000) *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* University of Illinois Press

Eliot Gardner, J. (2004) *Pilgrimage to Santiago: The Monteverdi Choir* Radio 4 Podcast

European Social Survey (2002) *Attendance at religious services among adults 15+* ESS Publications

Fetterman, D. M. (2010) *Ethnography* SAGE Publications

Fladmark, J. M. (1998) *In Search of Heritage: As Pilgrim or Tourist?* Donhead Publishing Ltd

Gemie, S. (2006) *Galicia: A Concise History* University of Wales Press

Gill, J. and Johnson, P. (2005) *Research Methods for Managers* (3rd Ed) SAGE Publications

Grider, S. (2001) *Spontaneous Shrines: A Modern Response to Tragedy and Disaster* in New Directions in Folklore available at http://www.temple.edu/english/newfolk/shrines.html.

Guba, E. (1990) *The Paradigm Dialog* SAGE Publications

Harris, R. (1999) *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age* Allen Lane London

Hartig, K. V. & Dunn, K. M. (1998) *Roadside Memorials: Interpreting New Deathscapes in Newcastle, New South Wales* in Australian Geographical Studies, March 1998, 36 (1): 5-20

Holden, A. (2006) *Tourism Studies and the Social Sciences* Routledge

Keil, C. (2003) *Unpublished Thesis* University of Gloucestershire

Lourdes.org (a & b) (2012) available at http://www.lourdes-france.org/

Lourdes.org (c) (2012) available at

http://www.lourdes-france.org/index.php?goto_centre=ru&contexte=en&id=907&id_rubrique=907

MacConville, U. (2006) *Roadside Memorials* available at http://www.bath.ac.uk/cdas/research/roadside.html

Marnham, P. (1980) *Lourdes: A Modern Pilgrimage* William Heinemann Ltd

Matter, A. E. (2001) *Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in the Late Twentieth Century: Apocalyptic, Representation, Politics* at www.idealibrary.com on IDEAL® Academic Press

Murray M. and Graham, B. (1997) *Exploring the dialectics of route-based tourism: the Camino de Santiago* in Tourism Management, Vol. 18, No. 8, pp. 513-524, 1997.

Nolan, M. L. and Nolan, S. (1989) *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe* Chapel Hill

Nooteboom, C. (1998) *Roads to Santiago* Harvill

Odell, C. M. (2010) *Those who saw her: Apparitions of Mary* Our Sunday Visitor Publishing Division

Palmer, A. and Gallagher, D. (2007) *Religiosity, Relationships and Consumption: A Study of Church Going in Ireland* in Consumption, Markets and Culture, Vol. 10, No. 1, March 2007, pp. 31-49

Poria, Y., Airey, D. and Butler, R. (2003) *The core of heritage tourism: Distinguishing heritage tourists from tourists in heritage places* in Annals of Tourism Research, 301, pp 238-254

Raj, R. and Morpeth, N. D. (2007) *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: An International Perspective* CABI

Reader, I. and Walter, T. (1993) *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture* Palgrave

Reader, I. (2007) *Pilgrimage growth in the modern world: Meanings and implications* in Religion 37 (2007) 210-229

Riley, R. W. & Love, L. L. (2000) *The State of Qualitative Research in Tourism* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol 27, No 1, pp. 164-187, 2000

Russell, P. (1999) *Religious travel in the new millennium* in Travel and Tourism Analyst, 5: 39-68, 1999

Santos, M. G. M. P (2003) *Religious Tourism: Contributions towards a classification of concepts* Atlas – Special Interest Group 1st Expert Meeting: Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage, Conference Proceedings, 23-27 April 2003, Fatima – Portugal

Selby, M. (2007) *Understanding Urban Tourism: Researching Culture and Experience* available at

http://www.ttra.com/applications/DocumentLibraryManager/upload/Understanding%20Urban%20Tourism.pdf

Smith, V. L. (1992) *The Quest in Guest* in Annals of Tourism Research Special Issue Pilgrimage and Tourism Vol 19, No. 1, 1992, 1-17

Stoddard, R. H. (1996) *Tourism and Religious Travel: A Geographic Perspective* Tourism, Religions and Peace Conference 1996

Taylor, T. (2003) *Bernadette of Lourdes: Her life, death and visions* Burns and Oates

Tearfund (2006) *Churchgoing in the UK: A research report from Tearfund on church attendance in the UK* Tearfund Publications

Thomas, S. Miller, C. Thomas, B. Tunstall, R. & Siggins, N. (2007) *Mastering intrapreneurial behaviour for sustained socioeconomic development: a public service analysis of the south-east Wales heritage tourism attractions sector* in The International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation 8 (1), pp 75-83

Timothy, D. J. and Olsen, D. H. (2006) *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys* Routledge

Torkildsen, G. (2005) *Leisure and Recreation Management* SPON London

Tribe, J. (2009) *Philosophical Issues in Tourism* Channel View Publications

Turner, V. and Turner, E. L. B. (1978) *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* Columbia

Urry, J. & Larsen, J. (2011) *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* Sage Publications

Webb, D. (2001) *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage In The Medieval West* I.B. Tauris Publishers

Williamson, H. R. (1958) *The Challenge of Bernadette* Burns and Oates Publications

Vukonic, B. (1996) *Tourism and Religion* Pergamon

Chapter 2 Reference List

Adler, J. (1989) *Origins of Sightseeing* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol 16, pp 7-29

Altet, X. B. I. (2004) *Compostelle: La Grand Chemin* Decouvertes Gallimard Religions

Andriotis, K. (2011) *Genres of Heritage Authenticity: Denotations from a Pilgrimage Landscape* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 38, No. 4, pp. 1613-1633

Andriotis, K. (2009) *Sacred site visitation: A phenomenological study* in Annals of Tourism Research Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 64-84

Badone, E. and Roseman, S. R. (2004) *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism* University of Illinois Press

Barber, R. (1993) *Pilgrimages* The Boydell Press, London

Beech, J. and Chadwick, S. (2006) *The Business of Tourism Management* FT Prentice Hall

Belhassen, Y. Caton, K. and Stewart, W. P. (2008) *The search for authenticity in the pilgrim experience in* Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 35, No. 3, pp. 668-689, 2008

Billet, B. and Lafourcade, P. (1981) *Lourdes Pelerinage* de Brouwer Paris

Blackwell, R. (2007) *Motivations for Religious Tourism* {pp 35-47}in Raj, R. and Morpeth, N. D. (2007) *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: An International Perspective* CABI

Boorstin, D. J. (1961) *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* Vintage Books

Bunyan, J. (1987) *The Pilgrim's Progress* Penguin Reprint of the 1678 text

Chaucer, G. (2008) *The Canterbury Tales* Oxford World's Classics Reprint of the 1387 text

Cohen, E. (1972) *Towards a sociology of international tourism* in Social Research, 39 (1), pp 64-82

Cohen, E. (1974) *Who is a tourist? A conceptual review* Sociological Review 22, pp 27-53

Cohen, E. (1979) *A phenomenology of tourist experiences* in Sociology, 132, pp 179-201

Coleman, S. and Eade, J. (2004) *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion* Routledge

Collins-Kreiner, N. (2010) *Researching Pilgrimage: Continuity and Transformations* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol 37, No. 2, pp. 1-17

Cooper, C. et al (2008) *Tourism: Principles and Practice* FT Prentice Hall

Dann, G. (1981) *Tourist Motivation: An Appraisal* in Annals of Tourism Research, 6 (4), pp 187-219

Dora, V. D. (2012) *Setting and Blurring Boundaries: Pilgrims, Tourists and Landscape in Mount Athos and Meteora* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp 951-974

Eade, J. (1991) *Order and power at Lourdes: Lay helpers and the organisation of a pilgrimage shrine* in Eade, J. and Sallnow, M. J. (1991) *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* University of Illinois Press pp 51-76

Eade, J. (1992) *Pilgrimage and Tourism at Lourdes, France* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 19 pp 18-32, 1992

Eade, J. and Sallnow, M. J. (1991) *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* University of Illinois Press

Ebron, P. A. (1999) *Tourists as pilgrims: Commercial fashioning of transatlantic politics* American Ethnologist, 26, pp 910-932

Fleischer, A. (2000) *The tourist behind the pilgrim in the holy land* in Hospitality Management 19 (2000) 311-326

Frey, N. L. (1998) *Pilgrim stories: On and off the road to Santiago* Berkeley: University of California Press

Gesler, W. (1996) *Lourdes: healing in a place of pilgrimage* in Health and Place, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 95-105, 1996

Gennep, v. A. (1960) *The Rites of Passage* Routledge London

Graburn, H. N. N. (1977) *Tourism: The Sacred Journey* in Smith, V. L. (1977) *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* University of Pennsylvania Press

Graburn, N. (1983) *The Anthropology of Tourism* in Annals of Tourism Research 19: pp 9-33

Hartig, K. V. & Dunn, K. M. (1998) *Roadside Memorials: Interpreting New Deathscapes in Newcastle, New South Wales* in Australian Geographical Studies, March 1998, 36 (1): 5-20

Herzberg, F. (1974) *Work and The Nature of Man* Granada Publishing

Holy Bible (1996) *New International Version* Hodder and Stoughton

John, T. and Rees, N. (2002) *Pilgrimage: A Welsh Perspective* GOMER

Keil, C. (2003) *Unpublished Thesis* University of Gloucestershire

Keil, C. (2005) *Sightseeing in the mansions of the dead* in Social and Cultural Geography, Vol. 6, No. 4, August 2005 pp 479-494

Lennon, J. & Foley, M (2000) *Dark tourism: The attraction of death and disaster* London: Continuum

Lockwood, S. (1981) *Passionate Pilgrims: The American Traveller in Great Britain* New York: Cornwall Books

Lonely Planet (2001) *Lonely Planet France* LP Publications

Lowenthal, D. (1998) *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* Cambridge

MacCannell, D. (1976) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* Shocklen Books, New York

MacCannell, D. (2001) *Tourist Agency* in Tourist Studies, Vol 1 (1) pp 23-37 2001 SAGE Publications

MacConville, U. (2006) *Roadside Memorials* available at http://www.bath.ac.uk/cdas/research/roadside.html

Maoz, D. (2006) *Erikson on the tour* in Tourism Recreation Research, 313, pp 55-63

Marnham, P. (1980) *Lourdes: A Modern Pilgrimage* William Heinemann Ltd

Masako, N. (1990) *Dizunirando to iu seichi* Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho

Maslow, A. (1954) *Motivation and Personality* Harper and Row, New York

McCabe, S. (2005) *Who is a tourist? A critical review* Tourism Studies 5 (1), pp 85-106

McKevitt, C. (1988) *San Giovanni Rotondo and the shrine of Padre Pio* in Eade, J. & Sallnow, M. J. (1991) *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* University of Illinois Press

Moore, A. (1980) *Walt Disney World: Bounded Ritual Space and the Playful Pilgrimage Centre* in Anthropological Quarterly, Vol. 53/4, pp. 207-17

Morinis, E. A. (1984) *Pilgrimage in the Hindu Tradition: A Case Study of West Bengal Delhi*: Oxford University Press

Morinins, E. A. (1992) *Introduction: The Territory of the Anthropology of Pilgrimage* in *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage* Edited by Morinis, E. A. Greenwood Publications

Murray M. and Graham, B. (1997) *Exploring the dialectics of route-based tourism: the Camino de Santiago* in Tourism Management, Vol. 18, No. 8, pp. 513-524, 1997.

Nolan, M. L. and Nolan, S. (1989) *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe* Chapel Hill

Nooteboom, C. (1998) *Roads to Santiago* Harvill

Odell, C. M. (2010) *Those who saw her: Apparitions of Mary* Our Sunday Visitor Publishing Division

Palmer, A. and Gallagher, D. (2007) *Religiosity, Relationships and Consumption: A Study of Church Going in Ireland* in Consumption, Markets and Culture, Vol. 10, No. 1, March 2007, pp. 31-49

Park, C. C. (1994) *Sacred worlds: an introduction to geography and religion* Routledge

Pearce, P. (1991) *Fundamentals of Tourist Motivation* International Academy for the Study of Tourism Conference, University of Calgary

Plog, S. (1974) *Why destination areas rise and fall in popularity* in Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly, February 1974, pp 55-58

Poria, Y., Airey, D. and Butler, R. (2003) *The core of heritage tourism: Distinguishing heritage tourists from tourists in heritage places* in Annals of Tourism Research, 301, pp 238-254

Poria, Y., Airey, D. and Butler, R. (2004) *How tourists decide which heritage site to visit* in Tourism Review, 592, pp 12-16

Poria, Y., Biran, A., and Reichel, A. (2006) *Tourist perceptions: Personal vs. Non personal* in Journal of Heritage Tourism, 12, pp 121-132

Raj, R. and Morpeth, N. D. (2007) *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: An International Perspective* CABI

Reader, I. and Walter, T. (1993) *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture* Palgrave

Reader, I. (2007) *Pilgrimage growth in the modern world: Meanings and implications* in Religion 37 (2007) pp 210-229

Riley, R. W. & Love, L. L. (2000) *The State of Qualitative Research in Tourism* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol 27, No 1, pp. 164-187, 2000

Sallnow, M. J. (1981) *Communitas Reconsidered: The Sociology of Andean Pilgrimage* Man 16 (2): 163-182

Santos, M. G. M. P (2003) *Religious Tourism: Contributions towards a classification of concepts* Atlas – Special Interest Group 1st Expert Meeting: Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage, Conference Proceedings, 23-27 April 2003, Fatima – Portugal

Shackley, M. (2001) *Sacred World Heritage Sites: Balancing Meaning with Management* in Tourism Recreation Research, 26 (1), pp 5-10

Sharpley, R. (1999) *Tourism, Tourists and Society* ELM

Singh, S. and Singh, T. V. (2009) *Aesthetic Pleasures: Contemplating Spiritual Tourism* in Tribe, J. (2009) *Philosophical Issues in Tourism* Channel View Publications, pp 135-153

Smith, V. L. (1992) *The Quest in Guest* in Annals of Tourism Research Special Issue Pilgrimage and Tourism Vol 19, No. 1, 1992, 1-17

Solomon, L. I. (1999) *'Are you spiritually promiscuous'* in New Age Journal March/April: pp 66-69

Stoddard, R. H. (1996) *Tourism and Religious Travel: A Geographic Perspective* Tourism, Religions and Peace Conference 1996

Stone, P. (2012) *Dark Tourism and Significant Other Death: Towards a Model of Mortality Mediation* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 39, No. 3, pp 1565-1587

Swarbrooke, J. (1999) *Consumer Behaviour in Tourism* Butterworth Heinemann

Swarbrooke, J. (1994) *The future of the past: heritage tourism into the 21st century* in Seaton, A.V. (1994) *Tourism: State of the Art* Wiley Chichester Chapter 23

Taylor, T. (2003) *Bernadette of Lourdes: Her life, death and visions* Burns and Oates

Tearfund (2006) *Churchgoing in the UK: A research report from Tearfund on church attendance in the UK* Tearfund Publications

Timothy, D. J. and Olsen, D. H. (2006) *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys* Routledge

Torkildsen, G. (2005) *Leisure and Recreation Management* SPON London

Tribe, J. (2009) *Philosophical Issues in Tourism* Channel View Publications

Turnbull, C. (1981) *A Pilgrimage in India* Natural History 90: 7, pp 14-81

Turner, V. and Turner, E. L. B. (1978) *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* Columbia

Urry, J. & Larsen, J. (2011) *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* Sage Publications

Urry, J. (2001) *Globalising the Tourist Gaze* Cityscapes Conference Graz 2001 available at http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/079ju.html

Urry (1990) *The Tourist Gaze* SAGE Publishing

Volozinskis, L. (1991) *Le phenomene du tourisme religieux en France* Milano: B.I.T – Borsa Internazionale del Turismo, pp 176

Vroom, V. H. (1964) *Work and Motivation* Wiley, Chichester, UK

Vukonic, B. (1996) *Tourism and Religion* Tourism Social Science Series Pergamon

Wiederkehr, M. (2001) *Behold Your Life: a Pilgrimage Through Your Memories* Ava Maria Press, Paris

Zola, E. (1890) *Lourdes* Chatto and Windus

Chapter 3 Reference List

Alvesson, M. & Deetz, S. (2000) *Doing Critical Management Research* SAGE Publications

Andriotis, K. (2011) *Genres of Heritage Authenticity: Denotations from a Pilgrimage Landscape* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 38, No. 4, pp. 1613-1633

Arnould. E. and Price, L. (1993) *River magic: Extraordinary experience and the extended service encounter* in Journal of Consumer Research, 20, pp. 24-45

Atkinson, P. and Hammersley, M (1994) *Ethnography and participant observation* in Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (1994) *Handbook of Qualitative Research* Thousand Oaks CA SAGE pp. 248-261

Badone, E. and Roseman, S. R. (2004) *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism* University of Illinois Press

Bird, C. M. (2005) *How I stopped dreading and learned to love transcription* in Qualitative Inquiry, 11 (2), pp. 226-248

Boorstin, D. J. (1961) *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* Vintage Books

Bowen, D. (2001) *Antecedents of Consumer Satisfaction and Dis-satisfaction (CS/D) on Long-Haul Inclusive Tours: A Reality Check on Theoretical Considerations* in Tourism Management, 22 (1), pp.49-61

Bowie, D. and Chang, J. (2005) *Tourist Satisfaction: A view from a mixed international guided package tour* in Journal of Vacation Marketing, 11 (4), pp. 302-322

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) *Using thematic analysis in psychology* in Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3 (2), pp 77-101

Bryman, A. and Bell, E. (2007) *business research methods* Oxford University Press

Bryman, A. (2004) *Social Research Methods* (2nd Ed) Oxford University Press

Burrell, G. and Morgan, G. (1979) *Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis* Heinemann

Christou, P. et al (2009) *Exploring tourist experiences through ethnography* in Experiencing Difference Changing Tourism and Tourist's Experiences: ATLAS Reflections 2009

Cohen, E. (1972) *Towards a sociology of international tourism* in Social Research, 39 (1), pp 64-82

Cohen, E. (1988) *Traditions in the Qualitative Sociology of Tourism* in Annals of Tourism Research, 15, pp 29-46

Collins-Kreiner, N. (2010) *Researching Pilgrimage: Continuity and Transformations* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol 37, No. 2, pp. 1-17

Croft, R. et al (2007) *Say what you mean, mean what you say: An ethnographic approach to male and female conversations* in International journal of Market Research Vol. 49, Issues 6: Ethnography Special Issue

Crowther, P. (2010) Strategic application of events in International Journal of Hospitality Management, 29 (2010), pp 227-235

Dann, G. (1981) *Tourist Motivation: An Appraisal* in Annals of Tourism Research, 6 (4), pp 187-219

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (1998) *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues* SAGE Publications

Dora, V. D. (2012) *Setting and Blurring Boundaries: Pilgrims, Tourists and Landscape in Mount Athos and Meteora* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp 951-974

Dunkley, R., Morgan, N. & Westwood, S. (2011) *Visiting the trenches: Exploring meanings and motivations in battlefield* tourism in Tourism Management, 32 (2011), pp 860-868

Eade, J. & Sallnow, M. J. (1991) *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* Routledge

Eade, J. (1992) *Pilgrimage and Tourism at Lourdes, France* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 19 pp 18-32, 1992

Easterby-Smith, M. et al (2002) *Management Research: An Introduction* SAGE Publications

Ebron, P. A. (1999) *Tourists as pilgrims: Commercial fashioning of transatlantic politics* in American Ethnologist, 26, pp. 910-932

Fetterman, D. M. (2010) *Ethnography* SAGE Publications

Finlay, L. (2002) *Negotiating the swamp: the opportunity and challenge of reflexivity in research practice* in Qualitative Research, 2002 2: 209-230

Flick, U. (2006) *An Introduction to Qualitative Research* (3rd Ed) SAGE Publications

Frey, N. L. (1998) *Pilgrim stories: On and off the road to Santiago* Berkeley: University of California Press

Gale, T. & Botterill, D. (2005) *A realist agenda for tourist studies, or why destination areas rise and fall in popularity* available at www.sagepublications.com

Garrod, B. and Fyall, A. (2000) *Managing Heritage Tourism* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 27, No. 3, pp. 682-708

Gennep, v. A. (1960) *The Rites of Passage* Routledge London

Gill, J. and Johnson, P. (2005) *Research Methods for Managers* (3rd Ed) SAGE Publications

Graburn, H. N. N. (1977) *Tourism: The Sacred Journey* in Smith, V. L. (1977) *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* University of Pennsylvania Press

Graburn, N. (1983) *The Anthropology of Tourism* in Annals of Tourism Research 19: pp 9-33

Gray, M. (1984) *A Dictionary of Literary Terms* York Press Longman

Grbich, C. (2012) *Qualitative Data Analysis* SAGE

Guba, E. (1990) *The Paradigm Dialog* SAGE Publications

Hammersley, M. (1995) *The Politics of Social Research* SAGE Publications

Henn, M., Weinstein, M. and Foard, N. (2006) *A Short Introduction to Social Research* SAGE

Holden, A. (2006) *Tourism Studies and the Social Sciences* Routledge

Jankowicz, A. D. (2005) *Business Research Projects* (4th Ed) Thomson

Jennings, G. (2001) *Tourism Research* John Wiley & Sons Australia, Ltd

Kirk, J. And Miller, M. (1986) *Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research* SAGE

Kuhn, T. (1970) *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* The University of Chicago Press

Kutsche, P. (1998) *Field Ethnography: A Manual for doing Cultural Anthropology* Prentice Hall

Laubschagne, A. (2003) *Qualitative Research: Airy Fairy or Fundamental?* in The Qualitative Report, 8 (1)

Lourdes.org (2012) available at http://www.lourdes-france.org/

MacCannell, D. (1976) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* Shocklen Books, New York

Marnham, P. (1980) *Lourdes: A Modern Pilgrimage* William Heinemann Ltd

Maxwell, J. A. (2012) *Qualitative Research Design* SAGE

Nolan, M. L. and Nolan, S. (1989) *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe* Chapel Hill

Opperman, M. (2000) *Triangulation – A Methodological Discussion* in International Journal of Tourism Research, 2, 141-146 (2000)

Palmer, C. (2005) *An Ethnography of Englishness: Experiencing identity through tourism* in Annals of Tourism Research, 32 (1), pp. 7-27

Poria, Y., Airey, D. and Butler, R. (2003) *The core of heritage tourism: Distinguishing heritage tourists from tourists in heritage places* in Annals of Tourism Research, 301, pp 238-254

Reader, I. and Walter, T. (1993) *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture* Palgrave

Remenyi, D. et al (1998) *Doing Research in Business and Management: An Introduction to Process and Method* SAGE Publications

Riley, R. W. & Love, L. L. (2000) *The State of Qualitative Research in Tourism* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol 27, No 1, pp. 164-187, 2000

Ryan, C. (1995) *Learning about tourists from conversations: The over 55s in Majorca* in Tourism Management, 16 (3), pp 24

Sallnow, M. J. (1981) *Communitas Reconsidered: The Sociology of Andean Pilgrimage* Man 16 (2): 163-182

Saunders, M. et al (2009) *Research Methods for Business Students* FT Prentice Hall

Selby, M. (2007) *Understanding Urban Tourism: Researching Culture and Experience* available at

http://www.ttra.com/applications/DocumentLibraryManager/upload/Understanding%20Urban%20Tourism.pdf

Sharpley, R. (1999) *Tourism, Tourists and Society* ELM

Silverman, D. (2006) *Interpreting Qualitative Data* SAGE Publications

Smith, V. L. (1992) *The Quest in Guest* in Annals of Tourism Research Special Issue Pilgrimage and Tourism Vol 19, No. 1, 1992, 1-17

Social Research Association (2003) *Ethical Guidelines* SCA available at

http://the-sra.org.uk/sra_resources/research-ethics/ethics-guidelines/

Sorensen, A. (2003) *Backpacker Ethnography* in Annals of Tourism Research, 30 (4), pp. 847-867

Stoddard, R. H. (1996) *Tourism and Religious Travel: A Geographic Perspective* Tourism, Religions and Peace Conference 1996

Timothy, D. J. and Olsen, D. H. (2006) *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys* Routledge

Tribe, J. (1997) *The Indiscipline of Tourism* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 24, No.3, pp. 638-657, 1997

Tribe, J. (2009) *Philosophical Issues in Tourism* Channel View Publications

Trochim, M. K. W, (2006) *Positivism & Postpositivism* available at http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/positvsm.php

Turner, V. and Turner, E. L. B. (1978) *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* Columbia

University of Glamorgan (2008) General Ethical Guidelines for Research and Consultancy UoG Publications Available at

http://office.research.glam.ac.uk/ethics/

Veal, A. (1997) *Research Methods for Leisure and Tourism: A Practical Guide* Harlow England: Pearson Education Limited

Weber, R. (2004) *The Rhetoric of Positivism Versus Postpositivism: A Personal View* available at http://www.misq.org/archivist/vol/no28/issue1/EdCommentsV28N1.pdf

Chapter 4 Reference List

Andriotis, K. (2011) *Genres of Heritage Authenticity: Denotations from a Pilgrimage Landscape* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 38, No. 4, pp. 1613-1633

Ashworth, G. (2006) *On gaps and bridges in heritage* Active Learning for the Heritage Industry Conference (Cheltenham 09/06)

Bryman, A. (2004) The *Disneyization of Society* SAGE Press

Bryman, A. & Bell, E. (2007) *Business Research Methods* Oxford University Press

Christou, P. et al (2009) *Exploring tourist experiences through ethnography* in Experiencing difference. Changing tourism and tourists experiences: ATLAS Reflections May 2009.

Cohen, E. (1972) *Towards a sociology of international tourism* in Social Research, 39 (1), 64-82

Collins-Kreiner, N. (2010) (a) *Researching Pilgrimage: Continuity and Transformations* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol 37, No. 2, pp. 1-17

Collins-Kreiner, N. (2010) (b) *The Geography of Pilgrimage and Tourism: Transformations and Implications for Applied Geography* in Applied Geography, 30 (2010), 153-164

Cooper, C. et al (2008) *Tourism: Principles and Practice* FT Prentice Hall

Dann, G. (1981) *Tourist Motivation: An Appraisal* in Annals of Tourism Research, 6 (4), 187-219

Eade, J. and Sallnow, M. J. (1991 & 2000) *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* University of Illinois Press

Fetterman, D. M. (2010) *Ethnography* SAGE Publications

Gray, M. (1984) *A Dictionary of Literary Terms* York Press Longman

Hartig, K. V. & Dunn, K. M. (1998) *Roadside Memorials: Interpreting New Deathscapes in Newcastle, New South Wales* in Australian Geographical Studies, March 1998, 36(1): 5-2

Holy Bible (1996) *New International Version* Hodder and Stoughton

Horsfall, S. (2000) *The Experience of Marian Apparitions and The Mary Cult* in The Social Sciences Journal, Volume 37, Number 3, Pages 375-384

Jennings, G. (2001) *Tourism Research* John Wiley & Sons Australia, Ltd

Kutsche, P. (1998) *Field Ethnography: A Manual for doing Cultural Anthropology* Prentice Hall

Lasserre, P. (1930) *A Geographical Study of Lourdes* French Press

Laurentin, R. (undated) *Bernadette of Lourdes: A Life Based on Authenticated Documentation* Winston Press

Lowenthal, D. (1985) *The Past is a Foreign Country* Cambridge

MacCannell, D. (2001) *Tourist Agency* in Tourist Studies, Vol 1 (1) 23-37 2001 SAGE Publications

Marnham, P. (1980) *Lourdes: A Modern Pilgrimage* William Heinemann Ltd

Miller, E. & Samples, K. (1992) *The Cult of the Virgin* Baker Book House

Nolan, M. L. and Nolan, S. (1989) *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe* Chapel Hill

Odell, C. M. (2010) *Those who saw her: Apparitions of Mary* Our Sunday Visitor Publishing Division

Page, S. J. and Connell, J. (2009) *Tourism: A Modern Synthesis* South-Western Cengage Learning

Palmer, A. and Gallagher, D. (2007) *Religiosity, Relationships and Consumption: A Study of Church Going in Ireland* in Consumption, Markets and Culture, Vol. 10, No. 1, March 2007, pp. 31-49

Plog, S. (1974) *Why destination areas rise and fall in popularity* in Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly, February 1974, 55-58

Poria, Y., Airey, D. and Butler, R. (2003) *The core of heritage tourism: Distinguishing heritage tourists from tourists in heritage places* in Annals of Tourism Research, 301, 238-254

Poria, Y., Airey, D. and Butler, R. (2004) *How tourists decide which heritage site to visit* in Tourism Review, 592, 12-16

Reader, I. (2007) *Pilgrimage growth in the modern world: Meanings and implications* in Religion 37 (2007) 210-229

Saunders, M. et al (2009) *Research Methods for Business Students* FT Prentice Hall

Sharpley, R. (1999) *Tourism, Tourists and Society* ELM

Smith, V. L. (1992) *The Quest in Guest* in Annals of Tourism Research Special Issue Pilgrimage and Tourism Vol 19, No. 1, 1992, 1-17

Stoddard, R. H. (1996) *Tourism and Religious Travel: A Geographic Perspective* Tourism, Religions and Peace Conference 1996

Swarbrooke, J. (1999) *Consumer Behaviour in Tourism* Butterworth Heinemann

Taylor, T. (2003) *Bernadette of Lourdes: Her life, death and visions* Burns and Oates

Tearfund (2007) *Churchgoing in the UK: A research report from Tearfund on church attendance in the UK* Tearfund Publications available at www.tearfund.org

Timothy, D. J. & Boyd, S. W. (2003) *Heritage Tourism* Prentice Hall

Turner, V. and Turner, E. L. B. (1978) *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* Columbia

Urry (1990) *The Tourist Gaze* SAGE Publishing

Williamson, H. R. (1958) *The Challenge of Bernadette* Burns and Oates Publications

Chapter 5 Reference List

Andriotis, K. (2011) *Genres of Heritage Authenticity: Denotations from a Pilgrimage Landscape* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 38, No. 4, pp. 1613-1633

Ashworth, G. (2006) *On gaps and bridges in heritage* Active Learning for the Heritage Industry Conference (Cheltenham 09/06)

Badone, E. and Roseman, S. R. (2004) *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism* University of Illinois Press

Batty, P. (1984) *Our Lady Queen of Peace, Queen of Apostles {Is Teaching Us the Way to the Truth and Life at Medjugorje, Yugoslavia}* Pika Print

BBC (2010) *Vatican investigates Bosnia 'apparition' of Virgin Mary* available at www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/8573576.stm

Boorstin, D. J. (1961) *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* Vintage Books

Catholic Encyclopaedia Online (2011) available at www.catholic.org/encyclopaedia/

Cohen, E. (1972) *Towards a sociology of international tourism* in Social Research, 39 (1), 64-82

Cohen, E. (1974) *Who is a tourist? A conceptual review* Sociological Review 22, 27-53

Coleman, S. and Eade, J. (2004) *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion* Routledge

Collins-Kreiner, N. (2010) *Researching Pilgrimage: Continuity and Transformations* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol 37, No. 2, pp. 1-17

Collins-Kreiner, N. and Gatrell, J. D. (2006) *Tourism, heritage and pilgrimage: The case of Haifa's Baha'i Gardens* in Journal of Heritage Tourism, 1 (1), 32-50

Cooper, C. et al (2008) *Tourism: Principles and Practice* FT Prentice Hall

Culler, J. (1981) *Semiotics of Tourism* American Journal of Semiotics 1 (1-2): 127-140.

Dann, G. (1981) *Tourist Motivation: An Appraisal* in Annals of Tourism Research, 6 (4), 187-219

Dora, V. D. (2012) *Setting and Blurring Boundaries: Pilgrims, Tourists and Landscape in Mount Athos and Meteora* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp 951-974

Eade, J. and Sallnow, M. J. (1991 Ed & 2000 Ed) *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* University of Illinois Press

Fetterman, D. M. (2010) *Ethnography* SAGE Publications

Fleischer, A. (2000) *The tourist behind the pilgrim in the holy land* in Hospitality Management 19 (2000) 311-326

Gesler, W. (1996) *Lourdes: healing in a place of pilgrimage* in Health and Place, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 95-105, 1996

Holy Bible (1996) *New International Version* Hodder and Stoughton

Keil, C. (2003) *Unpublished Thesis* University of Gloucestershire

Lasserre, P. (1930) *A Geographical Study of Lourdes* French Press

Laurentin, R. (undated) *Bernadette of Lourdes: A Life Based on Authenticated Documentation* Winston Press

Lowenthal, D. (1985) *The Past is a Foreign Country* Cambridge

Lowenthal, D. (1998) *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* Cambridge

MacCannell, D. (1976) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* Shocklen Books, New York

MacCannell, D. (2001) *Tourist Agency* in Tourist Studies, Vol 1 (1) 23-37 2001 SAGE Publications

Marnham, P. (1980) *Lourdes: A Modern Pilgrimage* William Heinemann Ltd

Matter, A. E. (2001) *Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in the Late Twentieth Century: Apocalyptic, Representation, Politics* at www.idealibrary.com on IDEAL® Academic Press

McCabe, S. (2005) *Who is a tourist? A critical review* Tourism Studies 5 (1), 85-106

McKercher, B. (1993) *Some Fundamental Truths About Tourism* in Journal of Sustainable Tourism 1 (1): 6-16

Murray M. and Graham, B. (1997) *Exploring the dialectics of route-based tourism: the Camino de Santiago* in Tourism Management, Vol. 18, No. 8, pp. 513-524, 1997

Nolan, M. L. and Nolan, S. (1989) *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe* Chapel Hill

Odell, C. M. (2010) *Those who saw her: Apparitions of Mary* Our Sunday Visitor Publishing Division

Page, S. J. and Connell, J. (2009) *Tourism: A Modern Synthesis* South-Western Cengage Learning

Palmer, A. and Gallagher, D. (2007) *Religiosity, Relationships and Consumption: A Study of Church Going in Ireland* in Consumption, Markets and Culture, Vol. 10, No. 1, March 2007, pp. 31-49

Park, C. C. (1994) *Sacred worlds: an introduction to geography and religion* Routledge

Poria, Y., Airey, D. and Butler, R. (2003) *The core of heritage tourism: Distinguishing heritage tourists from tourists in heritage places* in Annals of Tourism Research, 301, 238-254

Poria, Y., Airey, D. and Butler, R. (2004) *How tourists decide which heritage site to visit* in Tourism Review, 592, 12-16

Plog, S. (1974) *Why destination areas rise and fall in popularity* in Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly, February 1974, 55-58

Raj, R. and Morpeth, N. D. (2007) *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management* CABI

Reader, I. (2007) *Pilgrimage growth in the modern world: Meanings and implications* in Religion 37 (2007) 210-229

Santos, M. G. M. P (2003) *Religious Tourism: Contributions towards a classification of concepts* Atlas – Special Interest Group 1st Expert Meeting: Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage, Conference Proceedings, 23-27 April 2003, Fatima – Portugal

Sharpley, R. (1999) *Tourism, Tourists and Society* ELM

Smith, V. L. (1992) *The Quest in Guest* in Annals of Tourism Research Special Issue Pilgrimage and Tourism Vol 19, No. 1, 1992, 1-17

Stoddard, R. H. (1996) *Tourism and Religious Travel: A Geographic Perspective* Tourism, Religions and Peace Conference 1996

Swarbrooke, J. (1999) *Consumer Behaviour in Tourism* Butterworth Heinemann

Taylor, T. (2003) *Bernadette of Lourdes: Her life, death and visions* Burns and Oates

Timothy, D. J. & Boyd, S. W. (2003) *Heritage Tourism* Prentice Hall

Torkildsen, G. (2005) *Leisure and Recreation Management* SPON London

Tribe, J. (2009) *Philosophical Issues in Tourism* Channel View Publications

Turner, V. and Turner, E. L. B. (1978) *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* Columbia

Urry, J. & Larsen, J. (2011) *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* Sage Publications

Urry (1990) *The Tourist Gaze* SAGE Publishing

Urry (1995) *Consuming Places* The International Library of Sociology; Routledge

Vukonic, B. (1996) *Tourism and Religion* Tourism Social Science Series Pergamon

Webb, D. (2001) *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage In The Medieval West* I.B. Tauris Publishers

Williamson, H. R. (1958) *The Challenge of Bernadette* Burns and Oates Publications

Chapter 6 Reference List

Andriotis, K. (2011) *Genres of Heritage Authenticity: Denotations from a Pilgrimage Landscape* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 38, No. 4, pp. 1613-1633

Ashworth, G. J. (2006) *On gaps and bridges in heritage*: *Bridging the gap between industry and education* Active Learning for the Heritage Industry Conference, Cheltenham 2006

Badone, E. and Roseman, S. R. (2004) *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism* University of Illinois Press

Blackwell, R. (2007) *Motivations for Religious Tourism* {pp 35-47}in Raj, R. and Morpeth, N. D. (2007) *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: An International Perspective* CABI

Boorstin, D. J. (1961) *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* Vintage Books

Cohen, E. (1972) *Towards a sociology of international tourism* in Social Research, 39 (1), 64-82

Cohen, E. (1974) *Who is a tourist? A conceptual review* Sociological Review 22, 27-53

Collins-Kreiner, N. (2010) *Researching Pilgrimage: Continuity and Transformations* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol 37, No. 2, pp. 1-17

Dann, G. (1981) *Tourist Motivation: An Appraisal* in Annals of Tourism Research, 6 (4), 187-219

Dora, V. D. (2012) *Setting and Blurring Boundaries: Pilgrims, Tourists and Landscape in Mount Athos and Meteora* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp 951-974

Eade, J. (1991) *Order and power at Lourdes: Lay helpers and the organisation of a pilgrimage shrine* in Eade, J. and Sallnow, M. J. (1991) *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* University of Illinois Press pp 51-76

Eade, J. (1992) *Pilgrimage and Tourism at Lourdes, France* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 19 pp 18-32, 1992

Eade, J. and Sallnow, M. J. (1991) *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* University of Illinois Press

Gennep, v. A. (1960) *The Rites of Passage* Routledge London

Graburn, H. N. N. (1977) *Tourism: The Sacred Journey* in Smith, V. L. (1977) *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* University of Pennsylvania Press

Graburn, N. (1983) *The Anthropology of Tourism* in Annals of Tourism Research 19: pp 9-33

Hebdige, D. (1979) *Subculture: the meaning of style* Routledge

Keil, C. (2003) *Unpublished Thesis* University of Gloucestershire

Laurentin, R. (undated) *Bernadette of Lourdes: A Life Based on Authenticated Documentation* Winston Press

Lonely Planet (2001) *Lonely Planet France* LP Publications

MacCannell, D. (1976) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* Shocklen Books, New York

MacWilliams, M. W. (2003) *Virtual Pilgrimages on the Internet* in Religion, 32, pp 315-335

Marnham, P. (1980) *Lourdes: A Modern Pilgrimage* William Heinemann Ltd

McCabe, S. (2005) *Who is a tourist? A critical review* Tourism Studies 5 (1), 85-106

Nolan, M. L. and Nolan, S. (1989) *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe* Chapel Hill

Page, S. J. and Connell, J. (2009) *Tourism: A Modern Synthesis* South-Western Cengage Learning

Plog, S. (1974) *Why destination areas rise and fall in popularity* in Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly, February 1974, 55-58

Reader, I. and Walter, T. (1993) *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture* Palgrave

Santos, M. G. M. P (2003) *Religious Tourism: Contributions towards a classification of concepts* Atlas – Special Interest Group 1st Expert Meeting: Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage, Conference Proceedings, 23-27 April 2003, Fatima – Portugal

Smith, V. L. (1992) *The Quest in Guest* in Annals of Tourism Research Special Issue Pilgrimage and Tourism Vol 19, No. 1, 1992, 1-17

Stoddard, R. H. (1996) *Tourism and Religious Travel: A Geographic Perspective* Tourism, Religions and Peace Conference 1996

Swarbrooke, J. (1999) *Consumer Behaviour in Tourism* Butterworth Heinemann

Taylor, T. (2003) *Bernadette of Lourdes: Her life, death and visions* Burns and Oates

Tribe, J. (2009) *Philosophical Issues in Tourism* Channel View Publications

Turnbull, C. (1981) *A Pilgrimage in India* Natural History 90: 7, pp 14-81

Turner, V. and Turner, E. L. B. (1978) *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* Columbia

Urry, J. & Larsen, J. (2011) *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* Sage Publications

Urry (1990) *The Tourist Gaze* SAGE Publishing

Volozinskis, L. (1991) *Le phenomene du tourisme religieux en France* Milano: B.I.T – Borsa Internazionale del Turismo, pp 176

Williamson, H. R. (1958) *The Challenge of Bernadette* Burns and Oates Publications

Chapter 7 Reference List

Andriotis, K. (2011) *Genres of Heritage Authenticity: Denotations from a Pilgrimage Landscape* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 38, No. 4, pp. 1613-1633

Badone, E. and Roseman, S. R. (2004) *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism* University of Illinois Press

Blackwell, R. (2007) *Motivations for Religious Tourism* {pp 35-47}in Raj, R. and Morpeth, N. D. (2007) *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: An International Perspective* CABI

Collins-Kreiner, N. (2010) *Researching Pilgrimage: Continuity and Transformations* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol 37, No. 2, pp. 1-17

Dora, V. D. (2012) *Setting and Blurring Boundaries: Pilgrims, Tourists and Landscape in Mount Athos and Meteora* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp 951-974

Eade, J. (1991) *Order and power at Lourdes: Lay helpers and the organisation of a pilgrimage shrine* in Eade, J. and Sallnow, M. J. (1991) *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* University of Illinois Press pp 51-76

Eade, J. (1992) *Pilgrimage and Tourism at Lourdes, France* in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 19 pp 18-32, 1992

Eade, J. and Sallnow, M. J. (1991) *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* University of Illinois Press

Nolan, M. L. and Nolan, S. (1989) *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe* Chapel Hill

Reader, I. and Walter, T. (1993) *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture* Palgrave

Santos, M. G. M. P (2003) *Religious Tourism: Contributions towards a classification of concepts* Atlas – Special Interest Group 1st Expert Meeting: Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage, Conference Proceedings, 23-27 April 2003, Fatima – Portugal

Smith, V. L. (1992) *The Quest in Guest* in Annals of Tourism Research Special Issue Pilgrimage and Tourism Vol 19, No. 1, 1992, 1-17

Stoddard, R. H. (1996) *Tourism and Religious Travel: A Geographic Perspective* Tourism, Religions and Peace Conference 1996

Turner, V. and Turner, E. L. B. (1978) *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* Columbia

Appendices 1 - A Key to UK Church Attendance Categories

Regular churchgoers

• 15% of UK adults go to church at least once a month. This is equivalent to 7.6 million regular churchgoers
in the UK.

Fringe churchgoers

• 3% of UK adults go to church less than monthly but at least six times a year. This is equivalent to 1.6 million
fringe churchgoers in the UK.

Occasional churchgoers

• 7% of UK adults go to church less than six times a year but at least once a year. This is equivalent to 3.4
million occasional churchgoers in the UK.

Open de-churched

• 5% of UK adults do not go to church* but they used to attend in the past and are very or fairly likely to go to
church in future. This is equivalent to 2.3 million adults in the UK who are open de-churched.

Closed de-churched

• 28% of UK adults do not go to church*, used to attend in the past but say they are not very or not at all likely
to go to church in future. This is equivalent to 13.7 million adults in the UK who are closed de-churched.

Open non-churched

• 1% of UK adults have never been to church in their life, apart from weddings, baptisms or funerals yet say
they are very or fairly likely to go to church in future. This is equivalent to 0.6 million adults in the UK who
are open non-churched.

Closed non-churched

• 32% of UK adults have never been to church in their life, apart from weddings, baptisms or funerals and are
not very or not at all likely to go to church in future. This is equivalent to 15.6 million adults in the UK who
are open closed non-churched.

Other religions

• 6% of UK adults, equivalent to 3.2 million people, belong to religions other than Christianity.

Unassigned

• Only 162 respondents (2%) were “unassigned” because they did not answer the question on prior church
attendance, although none of these had been to church in the last 12 months. A third of them attended

church less than once a year or never, whilst two thirds declined to state their frequency of attendance.

* never attend or go less than once a year.

Source: Tearfund (2006)

Appendices 2 – Research Ethical Statement

Ethical Statement

Mr Simon Thomas BA (Hons) MA PGCE

Doctor of Business Administration Fieldwork Friday 23rd July 2010 – Friday 30th July 2010

Pilgrimage to Lourdes with the Diocese of Lancaster

I. The thesis title is – factors' influencing the construction of individual's subjective meaning when visiting pilgrimage shrines? A study of pilgrims and tourists at Lourdes in South West France'.

II. The research question is - what factors influence the construction of individual's subjective meaning when visiting pilgrimage shrines?

III. The aims of the study are -

- To examine the relationship between pilgrim, tourist and marker at Lourdes;
- To determine the markers role in framing individual space at Lourdes;
- To evaluate the interrelating factors that contribute to the personal construction of meaning at Lourdes.
- To consider how one may apply the outcomes of this study to the practice of visiting Lourdes.

IV. The project is a micro ethnographic study. The researcher will be joining the pilgrimage group as a participant and observer. It is anticipated that data will be gathered during conversations, casual interviews and through observing pilgrims undertaking a range of activities during the pilgrimage, both of a religious and leisure orientation. The individual transcript of data will be made available to that individual at any time both during and following the pilgrimage.

V. The project is being undertaken by Mr Simon Thomas, Senior Lecturer in Tourism and programme leader for Leisure, Sport, Tourism and Events at the University of Glamorgan Business School.

VI. The project fees are being funded by the Glamorgan Business School. The fieldwork is being funded personally by Mr Simon Thomas.

VII. The duration of the fieldwork is eight days at the shrine of Lourdes. The project does not anticipate any further contact with individual pilgrims outside of this duration (unless the pilgrim wishes to do so).

VIII. The consequences of the fieldwork are primarily to contribute to the submission of a doctoral thesis to the Glamorgan Business School Doctoral Programme. The project will also contribute to published, refereed journal articles in the subject area of tourism and religion/theology.

IX. The participation in this project is voluntary.

X. There will be no disclosure of personal data.

XI. The results of the project will be disseminated to a team of doctoral examiners following thesis submission. The results will also be included in journal submissions but will not disclose any personal data or inference of identity of group/diocese or individual.

XII. The participants of this project are unlikely to receive any direct benefits as a result of participating. The participants will however be offered the opportunity to receive an electronic copy of the final thesis document. The final outcomes of this research will be offered to organisations with an interest in religious tourism and/or heritage tourism development.

XIII. In the unlikely event of a participant wishing to make a complaint then they are to follow the University of Glamorgan procedures by contacting in the first instance the Glamorgan Business School Faculty Ethics Champion and the relevant research panel.

XIV. Participants will be offered complete confidentiality and anonymity. At no point in the project will this be compromised.